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*Principe Don Baltasar Carlos*

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# VELAZQUEZ

By

A. DE BERUETE

WITH 94 PLATES

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*This work is translated from the French Edition by Hugh E. Poynter, and revised throughout by the Author.*

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# DEDICATION

TO

## MONSIEUR LÉON BONNAT

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT

My dear Friend,

Although this book is published in French, it was thought out in Spain and written in Spanish, in the atmosphere of Velazquez's masterpieces. To whom could I dedicate it more appropriately than to yourself?

In Spain you also derived from these same masterpieces the inspiration which guided you at the outset of your brilliant career, and you still evince for them, as heretofore, the deepest admiration.

Permit me, then, to place your name at the beginning of these pages, as a remembrance of the part which my country can claim in your artistic triumphs.

AURELIANO DE BERUETE

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# PREFACE

I WAS brought up in the worship of Velazquez.

When quite young, I went to Madrid; and my father, on those brilliant days which are only to be seen in Spain, would take me sometimes to the Museum of the Prado, when we made many a long stay in the galleries devoted to Spanish Art. I always left them with a feeling of the deepest admiration for Velazquez.

The 'Meninas,' the 'Christ,' the 'Lances,' used to haunt my imagination. Later on, when I was allowed to attend the classes of the Academy of San Fernando, I found once more, among my young fellow-students, the same ardour of enthusiasm. Velazquez was our Deity. We knew his works by heart; how every hand, every head had been painted.

Not even the smallest of the *pentimenti*, so common in his works, escaped us: and we never mentioned him except by referring to him in the most respectful manner by his Christian name as 'Don Diego,' which, according to our way of thinking, meant 'The Master,' 'The Master *par excellence*,' just as Italians speak of 'Raphael' or 'Michelangelo.'

Twenty years later, on revisiting Madrid, my feelings of admiration were no less lively. Never shall I forget the impression produced on me by the portrait of the little Prince Don Baltasar, so fearlessly and proudly seated on his Spanish jennet, galloping along, with his scarf flying in the wind, over the heather of the Pardo or the Casa de Campo, with the snowy peaks of the Guadarrama shining in the distance behind him. Do you remember that clear colouring, limpid as a water-colour, brilliant as a precious stone? Is it not perfectly wonderful?

And the adorable Infanta, that pale blue-eyed Infanta! She is standing with her arms extended, spread out over the enormous



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'paniers' of her robe of state, and holds in her hand a rose as pale as her own delicate face. Poor little princess! How unhappy she seems, in all her splendour and adornments, at being compelled to submit to the rigorous etiquette of the Court! Do not pity her too much, though: thanks to the genius of the great master, she is alive for us. Is there, I ask, a more entrancing portrait to be seen than hers? The grey, rosy, silvery tones; the pale gold of her hair; the knots and ribands;—everything standing out from the background of red, carmine and violet-tinted tapestries . . . how can I express myself? . . . Is there a happier combination of delicate tones to be seen anywhere, and is not the whole effect exquisite in its tenderness?

And then, the Count-Duke, Olivares, with his curling moustaches and his proud self-sufficient air! Armed, booted, spurred, cased in a cuirass, there he sits on his Andalusian steed, giving his orders like a commander-in-chief, or a destroyer of armies, though he never saw a shot fired in earnest, and, by his criminal want of foresight, drew such disasters upon his country. Velazquez depicts him in all his triumphant arrogance, but for all that, the Tarpeian rock is not far off; and Gil Blas, in sad and moving words, will before long pourtray for us the overwhelming violence of his fall, and give a heartrending picture of the end of a once all-powerful minister. We, at least, cannot but pardon his mistakes and political crimes, for it was he who divined the genius of Velazquez, and brought the young and still unknown painter, under his protection, to the Court of Spain, which, later on, when he had become celebrated, he was destined to immortalise by his brush.

I now come to the marvellous portrait of Philip IV. The King is shown in profile, mounted on the magnificent horse, which curvets with such well-trained skill. His eye is dull and downcast; the Hapsburg lip thrust out; he is noble and proud in his mien as befits a descendant of Charles V. I know nothing more striking, more impressive, or more tragic than the portrait of this King, who, under a radiant sky, deaf to the rumblings of revolt audible in the distance, rides on imperturbably over hill and dale, while in his ever-weakening hands the heritage of the great Emperor melts, crumbles, and falls to pieces, irrevocably and for all time.

Velazquez, through his genius, was the interpreter of the whole



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epoch. Thanks to his intuition and his piercing insight, he was able to depict the sad and melancholy Court as no historian has done. Unhappy Court! To gain a moment's respite and forget present troubles and the overwhelming greatness of the past, its members were driven to surround themselves with jesters and fools. So little mirth was there at the Court of Spain that one of the kings, Philip III., if I remember rightly, on seeing from the Palace windows a man laughing, said quite seriously, 'Either the man is mad, or he is reading *Don Quixote*.' On making inquiry, the man, so it is said, was found to be reading *Don Quixote*. In the midst of all these grave folk, with their sad faces and sober garb, but one faint flash of brightness appears to enlighten a serious world; it is the slightly mischievous smile of the adorable Infanta Marguerite in the 'Meninas.' It is to Velazquez that we owe it.

The art of Spain is, above all, an austere art, darkened as it were by a shadow of the Inquisition, of conventual seclusion, and monkish religion. Unwittingly it is preoccupied by its surroundings, and is obedient to the inspirations which they suggest.

Think of the Spanish churches! They are dark, scarce pierced by the light of heaven; the vaults and naves are lost in mystery, and when, at nightfall, in the flickering light of smoky candles, you hear the prayers of the faithful chanted in a deep monotone, you are seized by a vague feeling of terror, and are conscious of an unknown and terrible Beyond; you can almost see the flames of hell and hear the stifled cries of the damned! Christ on the cross is always a skeleton, scarce covered with flesh, and with bleeding wounds. The figures of the Virgin, impassive in their golden haloes glittering with gems, are invariably imprisoned in a triangular garment of uncompromising stiffness. Anything that can suggest or recall the human form is strictly suppressed; such is the will of the priests, and the rule they enforce is so carefully observed, the orders they have issued so scrupulously obeyed, that the monks in charge of a church made famous by the pilgrimages of royalty, did not hesitate mercilessly to saw off at the knees a beautiful thirteenth-century statue of the Virgin, an object of universal veneration, in order to adapt the mutilated figure to the unalterable shape of the traditional cope.



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Like the other arts, painting followed in this narrow and sterile way, nor could it have been otherwise. Deprived of its liberty by the rude and ignorant hand of fanatical monks, the school of painting was slow to regain its freedom. Happily for it, Nature, healthy and generous, ever present to bring erring mortals back to the path of Truth—Nature, stronger than all human traditions, watched over its destinies and was not long in coming to its aid. For a long time, however, we shall see the Christs and Virgins of Morales stamped with the ascetic leanness of the Middle Ages. Freedom only begins with 'El Greco'; but progress was rapid, and this master at one bound almost reached the goal. In his work (his youth was passed at Venice) the scheme of colouring becomes brilliant and takes on great richness; and by means of his accomplished art, too often, it must be admitted, verging on eccentricity, he showed the school the way in which it should go, and which it never abandoned. His portraits inspired Velazquez and possibly Ribera; Goya, later on, was influenced by them.

But it was only under Ribera and Velazquez that the school gave free play to its ambitions, and blossomed out in all its vigour and fulness. Under them, Spanish art became powerfully realistic. These two great painters, actuated by diverse temperaments, did not by any means see nature under the same aspect.

Gifted with uncommon energy, Ribera, in the choice of his subjects, and still more in his manner of treating them, always showed a harsh and intense realism, which, in execution and treatment of form, sometimes reached—I can find no other way of expressing it—a sort of instinctive ferocity. He finds pleasure in the representation of torture and scenes of martyrdom. Beggars and wrinkled old men are his favourite models. In his pictures the contrasts of light and shade are violent and the tones unbroken. All the figures in the picture are placed in the foreground in order that no detail may escape him; and he searches into detail with an energy and power of execution unknown before his day, and unsurpassed since.

Velazquez proceeds differently, at the bidding of more elevated sentiments. If, in his earlier pictures, in 'The Forge,' for example, or the 'Borrachos,'—pictures which were intended by their author to



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represent, in one case, Apollo visiting Vulcan, and in the other, Bacchus, but which, as a matter of fact, only show us in the former a young man with a nimbus coming into a smithy, and in the latter a naked toper, drinking in the middle of a number of beggars with wine-flushed faces (might there not be meant by this, as in *Don Quixote*, a certain disrespectful irony towards the gods of Olympus?)—if, I say, in these works Velazquez appears to us an uncompromising realist, reproducing with rapid fidelity the first ignoble form that happened to meet his eye, he was not long, in his subsequent works, in broadening and simplifying his style. As time went on, he became more impressed by the general aspect of a scene, or an individual; the details became of secondary importance. He had the gift of simplicity; to this he added the power of synthesis. No one, with a few strokes of the brush, could sum up better than he, the character of a head, a landscape, or a personality; and when he had so rendered the bearing, the type, and the character of an individual, he was perfectly satisfied. He surrounded his subjects, as it were, with atmosphere, and placed them so exactly in the positions they ought to occupy in the picture, that one feels as if one were walking among them.

The 'Spinners,' and above all the 'Meninas,' are masterpieces, unique of their kind, and without parallel in the history of painting.

The methods which Velazquez employed to obtain such startling results are surprisingly simple. Armed with a palette on which only a strictly limited number of colours appear, and with a few long and slender brushes in his hand, he painted in everything at the first touch. The shadows, much simplified, are merely rubbed in, and only the high lights are thickly painted; and the whole, with its fine gradations of tone, is so broadly and rapidly executed, and is so precise in colour and proportion, so exact in its values, and so true in drawing, that the illusion is complete, and the resulting work a marvel.

Velazquez is an absolute master. If he had rivals, no one is his superior, and none among his contemporaries dims the brightness of his glory. Compare him with the most famous of his fellows: Rembrandt, for example, great magician that he is, makes the people of his pictures live in an atmosphere of his own creation. His powerful brain creates an imaginary world which he moulds, illumines, and



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colours as his imagination dictates; he goes where his genius impels him, and produces incomparable masterpieces which the beholder is never weary of admiring.

There is nothing like this in the case of Velazquez. What the Spanish master sought before everything was character and truth. He is a realist in the best and greatest acceptation of the word. He paints Nature as he sees her, and as she is. The air which he breathes is ours, and we walk beneath his sky. In the presence of his portraits we feel as we do in the presence of living people.

Look at Van Dyck! (I am full of emotion merely at writing these names so famous in art, and a thrill of delight runs through me at the recollection of their immortal works.) Van Dyck—his methods are perfectly well known to us—painted the heads of the great lords whom he depicted entirely from nature, and, so great was his skill, each of these heads, luminous, truthful, and lifelike as they are, was painted, so it is said, in a single day. After this, the hands and drapery were painted for him by men 'in his pay,' and are all very like each other; whereby, speaking critically, not a few of his beautiful portraits, if compared together and superficially examined, present a certain family likeness. A wonderful family, for all that!

Velazquez, with no consideration for his models, paints everything, even the minor details, just as he finds them, whether in King, Infanta, or any one else, who may be sitting to him; and, gifted with his faultless art, he thus produces portraits surprising in their grandeur and realism, and so strikingly suggestive that their vigorous and manly outlines are ineffaceably engraved on our memory.

He goes straight to his goal, great painter that he is; in his lofty, almost unconscious serenity, he lets no one turn him aside from the path he has marked out for himself, and which his genius has pointed out to him.

Rubens, the illustrious Rubens, who arrived at Madrid with all the prestige given by his position as ambassador, surrounded by an atmosphere of glory and universal fame; Rubens, to whom Velazquez lent his studio; with whom he maintained an unbroken correspondence; whom, by the order of the King, he conducted to the Escurial; whom he saw in the space of nine months paint an incredible number of



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masterpieces—and what masterpieces Heaven alone knows!—even Rubens himself, in spite of his magnificent genius and his inexhaustible fertility, exerted not the slightest influence upon Velazquez. The Spanish master remained as faithful to the tradition of his race as he was before the arrival of the Flemish master; he continued so after his departure, and posterity, delighted and grateful, bows down before his powerful originality.

No one is better fitted to tell the story of Velazquez's life, and describe his work, than M. de Beruete; his double qualification as painter and man of letters, his passionate devotion to his immortal fellow-countryman, his wide reading, his patient research in archives and museums, his travels throughout the length and breadth of Europe, his scrupulous conscientiousness, his curiosity ever on the alert, and, last, and above all, the courage which impels him to say what he knows to be true, have all come to his aid in the task of writing this important work, which is and must be the last word on the subject of the great Spanish painter. I wish him the success which he deserves.

L. BONNAT.

St. Jean-de-Luz, *October* 1897.



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# INTRODUCTION

THE bibliography of Velazquez, which has for many years been constantly on the increase, has, at the present time, attained a considerable development, owing to the interest which the life and works of the master arouse. To this special branch of literature I owe important materials for the biographical and documentary part of the present work, in which I have desired to condense all that has been published relative to our painter, reserving, however, the right of rectifying information and views founded on insufficient grounds.

Books and manuscripts have long ago made us acquainted with the leading facts of the painter's life, as well as his most famous pictures. Among the contemporaries of Velazquez at least two may be named who concerned themselves with the master: the first is the painter and art critic Francisco Pacheco, the father-in-law of Velazquez and author of the famous *Art of Painting*. To him we owe some scanty but precious information on the life of his son-in-law. The other is the Aragonese painter Giuseppe Martinez, whose manuscript entitled *Practical Lectures on the Art of Painting*, was not printed until 1866. These indications, and those furnished by the manuscripts of other authors, particularly the painters Lazaro Diaz del Valle and Father Juan Rizi, were collected in the first biography of Velazquez, in the second volume of the celebrated *Museo pictórico*, which was published by another painter, Antonio Palomino, in 1724, sixty-four years after the death of the master. For a long time we only knew the particulars of the life of Velazquez through this interesting biography, certain errors in which have only recently been set right by fresh investigations. Since the appearance of the *Museo pictórico* we can name in the course of the whole of the eighteenth century no publication of importance concerning Velazquez; but at the end of the century Mengs made some excellent criticisms on certain canvases of the great Spanish master, and the learned Antonio Ponz gave a description of these same



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pictures in his *Viaje de España* (1772). Shortly afterwards Ceán Bermudez devoted an important chapter of his *Dictionary of Professors of the Fine Arts in Spain* (1800) to a *résumé* of all the statements relative to Velazquez that were known up to that time.

Since then innumerable publications on this subject have appeared. The chief instigator of this movement in the nineteenth century was William Stirling,[1] who, first in his *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), and, later, in a special work on Velazquez—translated into several languages, into French notably, by G. Brunet, with important notes by the critic Thoré (1865)—popularised the name of the master whose works had already begun, in England especially, to be much extolled by artists and sought after by amateurs.

Stirling and Ford, to whom also we owe some interesting pages on the same subject, have been followed by numerous critics across the Channel, among whom are Mr. Stevenson, author of the *Art of Velasquez* (1895), and Sir Walter Armstrong, author of a study on the master which appeared in 1897. It is also in English that the American author Mr. C. B. Curtis published a catalogue of the works of Velazquez (1883), which should not be omitted in an account of the works on the painter. In France M. Paul Lefort, so well versed in the history and criticism of Spanish art, and whose labours are worthy of the highest esteem, published, beginning in 1879, a considerable number of articles on Velazquez in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, which he put together afterwards in a richly-illustrated volume, and the same author in his *Peinture espagnole* devoted to Velazquez a great number of its pages. French Reviews, Journals, and Art Magazines have published many studies on the same subject, from which I shall have occasion to quote in the course of the present book, and among these I note especially the articles of M. Émile Michel contained in the August and September numbers of the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1894, reprinted in this critic's book, entitled *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art* (1895).

In Spain, the first contemporary critic who seriously occupied himself with Velazquez is Don Pedro de Madrazo, in his opening discourse at the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in 1870, and later in

[1] Better known as Sir William Stirling-Maxwell.



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the biography and notes which he devoted to this painter in his *Catalogue raisonné* of the Prado Museum (1872), where he gives most valuable information on the origin of the works of Velazquez contained in the Museum. This illustrious art-critic has besides brought out in reviews and magazines, both French and Spanish, various articles describing the result of his investigations, or analysing the works of the master.

M. Cruzada Villaamil, who had already published many important works in the review *El Arte en España*, printed in 1885 a book entitled *Annals of the Life and Works of Velazquez*, which, although not in general circulation, is nevertheless favourably known, thanks to a limited number of copies in the hands of various amateurs. In it are to be found—and it is this which constitutes its principal interest—besides an almost complete collection of the precious documents printed for the first time in vol. lv. of the *Collection of unpublished documents to serve for a history of Spain* (1870), by M. Zarco del Valle, others from the Archives of Simancas, the national historic Archives, etc. I should name also, among the Spanish critics who have concerned themselves with Velazquez, M. Araujo Sanchez, who, in different articles devoted to the paintings in the Prado Museum falsely attributed to Velazquez, gave fresh proof of his discernment and of his thorough acquaintance with the painters of the Spanish School.

But, among all these publications, ancient or modern, it is but right to reserve a special place for the work published in 1888 by Herr Carl Justi, Professor in the University of Bonn;[1] a book in which nothing of what had been written up to that time is omitted, and which the author, thanks to his personal investigations in Spain, has enriched with numerous unpublished particulars on the life of the master. Add to that an attentive and profound examination of every one of the works of Velazquez, a study of the progress and development of the artist at the different periods of his career, a fully documented narrative of contemporary historical occurrences, and an account of the life of such personages as took part in those events; and it will be understood that a work of this importance has not only been used for reference but taken as a model by a large number of those who have, subsequently to

[1] A second edition was published in 1903.



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Professor Justi, undertaken the treatment of the same subject; as they have in fact been loyal enough to admit. I, in my turn, have pleasure in stating that the work of Professor Justi has been drawn upon for a great part of my work, although it is enough to compare the titles of the books to perceive clearly the differences which distinguish them. *Velazquez and his Times*, by Professor Justi, is, as its name indicates, not only a study on the life and works of the painter, but also the history of the epoch and of the surroundings amidst which this genius shaped itself; and in this manner it presents us with a picture of political and social Spain in the seventeenth century as well as of the Court of Philip IV. with its most remarkable personages. The present work is more limited in scope; I have endeavoured to give an accurate idea of the life of Velazquez without neglecting such details as may throw a light on an individuality which has hitherto been somewhat of a mystery; or which may have reference to the artistic output of the master, to the history and study of which I give a preponderant place. Not one of the pictures which I consider authentic have I left unnoticed; I have mentioned and given an appreciation of them all, having been fortunate enough to be able to examine carefully the whole work of the master with the exception of but four or five of his pictures. In this examination I have been guided by the experience gained during several years of constant study of the originals of Velazquez in the Prado Museum. Without such an initiation, in fact, it is impossible to form definite judgments on such a subject.

In my opinion, a distinction should be made in the work of Velazquez as it appears to-day in the galleries and collections of Europe. Which are the canvases as to whose authenticity there can be no doubt? The principal object of the present work is to clear up this point, which up to now has not been sufficiently elucidated. It is because the qualities which distinquish Velazquez are exceptional and unique, that he enjoys so splendid a renown; his works therefore must not be confused with those of his pupils or of the copyists and imitators whom he has had, and still has, like all creative spirits. Unfortunately the disorder and confusion which reign in these attributions disturb the critic in any methodical estimate of the few authentic works of Velazquez among the numberless pictures attributed to him,



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but which are for the most part apocryphal. Light is, however, gradually dawning in this respect. The 'Family of Mazo' in the Vienna Gallery, long attributed to Velazquez, has for some years passed under the name of Mazo, who is without doubt its author. From this false attribution and other similar ones has arisen a crop of errors, critics having imagined original paintings by Velazquez in the pictures of Mazo. Another mistake of this nature has been corrected, thanks to the conscientiousness and artistic zeal of the eminent ex-director of the National Gallery, Sir Edward Poynter. It concerns the famous 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' which has long passed for a Velazquez, and which is now attributed to Zurbaran, its true author. The late director of the Prado Gallery, the celebrated artist Pradilla, was likewise animated with the best intentions of rectifying the errors of attribution which still figure in the catalogue of the Gallery, errors which are the more to be regretted, because it is to Madrid that one must go to appreciate and thoroughly study the work of Velazquez. We have much satisfaction in pointing out that M. Pradilla, in general, classifies the true and the false pictures of Velazquez in the Madrid Gallery much as it is done in the present book, the short time that he occupied his post preventing him from correcting all the above-mentioned errors.

The highly important and delicate point which consists in distinguishing the authentic works of Velazquez from the innumerable canvases which are catalogued under his name has not until now been the principal subject of any of the works published on the master. Sir Walter Armstrong, in his recent monograph, makes an exception to the rule by picking out with true independence of spirit the pictures which in his opinion deserve to be considered as by Velazquez, studying them and classifying them in chronological order. I agree with Sir Walter Armstrong in a great number of cases, but certain of my judgments upon questions of no small importance differ from his.

Besides, the fact of being born and living in Spain, to say nothing of journeys undertaken with the object of studying the works of Velazquez, has allowed me to pursue the present work without interruption during a considerable period of time. I have, moreover, had the opportunity of examining several pictures by the master until



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now unknown, and so the chronological catalogue which I have drawn up at the end of this volume includes more authentic works than that which Sir Walter Armstrong has published, and which serves him as a basis for judging the artistic personality of Velazquez.

Since the French edition of this work was published in 1898 numerous works on Velazquez have appeared, many of them in the form of popular studies which tend to show the ever increasing interest for this master. Amongst these, two works published in Madrid in 1899 deserve special mention, one entitled *Velazquez outside the Prado Museum*, in which the author, Don Manuel Mesonero Romanos, made known by reproductions in phototype many of the works attributed with little or no ground to Velazquez which are to be found in public and private collections, besides adding interesting facts about them. The other work is *The Life and Works of Don Diego Velazquez*, by the renowned writer Don Jacinto Octavio Picon, in which the biography of the painter and the study of his art are supplemented by numerous quotations from manuscripts and books of the period, and written in the masterly manner which has earned the author well-merited fame.

We will also quote two other works on Velazquez with illustrations in phototype, one by Hugh Stokes, published in London in 1901, the other by Élie Faure, published in Paris in 1903, both worthy of a pre-eminent position amongst the works which have contributed so largely to popularise the art of the Spanish master. There has recently appeared a very interesting book, *Days with Velazquez*, by C. Lewis Hind, with much pertinent and personal comment, especially in the contents of the second chapter relating to the study of values.

Another phase of this popular movement is the manner in which the third centenary of his birth was celebrated in 1899. To facilitate a complete study of the works of the master and pay due tribute to the incomparable collection of these in the Prado Museum, the Marquis of Pidal, the Spanish Minister of Public Instruction, aided by an intelligent committee, availed himself of that opportunity to collect in chronological order in the principal room of the Prado Museum the works of Velazquez reputed as of indisputable authenticity. A small room was added to the principal gallery and in it was



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placed by itself the painting 'Las Meninas,' the light being admitted from the sides in the same way as was the case when the picture was painted, its remarkable fineness being thus properly appreciated. At the entrance to the principal room were placed the works in the museum attributed to the master whose authenticity is doubtful, and likewise those works where the hand of another artist is apparent, the whole collection being completed by photographic reproductions of the authentic paintings of Velazquez which are to be found outside the Prado Museum and in private collections. By this means it was possible to make a study of the whole work of the painter better than from any work ever published. Unfortunately, this arrangement has not been respected, the order of the paintings in the room having been altered; some having been placed in other rooms of the museum amongst artists of a different school, and the photographs by whose aid a complete knowledge of the whole work of the artist was obtained having also been taken away. It is to be hoped that the good sense prevailing in the organising of the Velazquez Room in the Prado Museum will again predominate and that its arrangement will once more and for all time be maintained in the manner befitting the grandeur of the work.



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# VELAZQUEZ

## CHAPTER I

Development of painting in Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—Birth of Velazquez—Years of apprenticeship in the studios of Herrera and Pacheco—First attempts—'Breakfast'—'The Old Woman Frying Eggs' and 'The Water Carrier of Seville'—Religious pictures of the period—The supposed influence of Ribera, Zurbaran, and Tristan on Velazquez—Marriage of Velazquez—First journey to Madrid—Portraits of the Poet Gongora and of an unknown person in the Prado Museum.

THE artistic influence exercised by the Netherlands on Spain during the fifteenth century has left many traces in the latter country. For those who study painting, the origin of this influence must be sought not only in the friendly relationship between the Kings of Castille and the Princes of the House of Burgundy, but in the journey to Portugal made by Jan van Eyck and in the visit he paid, on his way there, to the Court of John the Second.

This preponderance of the Flemish element was not, however, of long duration. The art of the Italian Renaissance, which might already be observed in some works at the end of the fifteenth century, developed itself in Spain at the beginning of the following century, and it was then that the real immigration of Spanish artists into Italy took place. Enrique Arphe, who appeared in Spain at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and who executed there some admirable goldsmith's work in the Gothic style, including the monstrances of Toledo and Cordova, was the grandfather of the goldsmith Juan de Arphe, whose work was of the purest Renaissance character. Peter van Kempeneer, a Flemish painter, also known by the name of Pedro de Campaña, whose pictures are to be seen at Seville, was inspired alternately by the Flemish and Italian style and by the characteristics peculiar to each of the two schools.

This movement, stamped with the art of the Renaissance, seems to have developed almost simultaneously in the three old kingdoms of Valencia, Castille, and Andalusia. The most capable representatives



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of the new style at Valencia were Vicente Juan Macip (Juan de Juanes) an imitator of the pupils of Raphael, with whom he had studied art in Italy, and another painter of a more pronounced personality, Francisco Ribalta, the founder of a school in which his son Juan, Espinosa, and several other less-known artists distinguished themselves, and which the great José Ribera himself, at that time quite young, frequented. The tendency towards realism so characteristic of Spanish painting at the end of the sixteenth century, which increased and acquired its full force in the seventeenth century, had its precursor in Valencia Ribalta, whose pictures, very rarely met with outside Spain, deserve a greater reputation than they have hitherto enjoyed.

The painters of Castille, towards the middle and at the end of the fifteenth century, were Fernando Gallegos and Antonio del Rincon, the former an imitator of the Flemish school, the latter inspired by the Italian masters. Of the former there are important panels in Zamora and Salamanca. To the latter can only be attributed with certainty a fragment in a reredos in the church of Robledo de Chavela, a work which has been very badly restored.

In the sixteenth century, the imported art of Italy at the Courts of Charles v. and Philip II. reached its apogee, thanks not only to illustrious contemporary Spaniards, such as Alonzo Berruguete and Gaspar Becerra who, like most of the artists of the Renaissance, were at the same time painters, sculptors, and architects, but also to the intercourse which the two sovereigns kept up with the great Italian masters. These artists, and among them notably Titian, contributed a large number of their works to the decoration of palaces and monasteries. The building of the Escurial attracted a crowd of artists from Italy; certainly not the great masters themselves, for they were no longer alive, but pupils, more or less mannered and decadent, with whom a certain number of Spanish artists came into contact; among others, Juan Fernandez Navarrete, called 'el mudo,' an imitator of the Venetian painters.

A contemporary of Navarrete, Luis de Morales, a native of Estremadura, surnamed 'the divine' on account of the exclusively religious character of the subjects he painted, and of the strange mysticism with which he impregnated them, was occasionally inspired by Leonardo da Vinci.

At the Court there was an uninterrupted succession of portrait painters. The first of the series was the Dutch painter Antonis Mor, followed by the Spaniards Sanchez Coello, Pantoja, and Bartolomé



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Gonzalez, all painters to the King, from Charles v. to Philip iv. From the excellent portraits of Antonis Mor to the commonplace effigies of Gonzalez there is a progressive decline, which follows closely that of the House of Austria.

This decadence was not confined to portrait painting: and the proof is to be found in the effect produced upon Rubens on his first visit to the Court of Spain in 1603. The following is what he wrote to Iberti, the secretary and representative of the Duke of Mantua at Madrid; 'The Duke de Lerma wishes us to paint quickly a large number of pictures with the help of Spanish artists. I fell in with his views, but I do not approve of them on account of the short time at our disposal, and the miserable insufficiency and want of care on the part of these painters and their manner of working. Mine is entirely different from it, and please God it will never be like theirs.' In another letter, alluding to the splendid works of Raphael, Titian and other great masters in the Escurial and the Palaces of Madrid and the Pardo, Rubens thus expressed himself: 'I am astonished at the quality and quantity of these pictures, but as for the modern works there is not a single one worth anything.'[1]

It must be presumed that Rubens would have written differently if, instead of limiting his journey to Madrid, he had extended it to Seville or Valencia, or if he had seen the surprising and in the highest degree original compositions of El Greco at Toledo.

The Flemish influence which flourished in Andalusia, as well as in the rest of Spain, until the beginning of the sixteenth century, began at this time to decline and was soon completely replaced by the Italian influence. This influence was promulgated at Seville by the painter Luis de Vargas and at Cordova by the prebendary of the Cathedral, Pablo de Céspedes, a perfect prototype of the great men of the Renaissance, who cultivated different plastic arts and was also a poet and distinguished archaeologist. The supremacy of Italian art attained its complete development with Juan de las Roëlas. This painter, on his return to Seville at the end of the sixteenth century, after having studied under the Venetian masters, produced some important works of individual character, in which may be found all the elements of the realism of the Seville school which in the following century reached its full development under Alonso Cano, Zurbaran, Velazquez, and Murillo.

[1] *Rubens, Diplomatico español*, by Cruzada Villaamil, Madrid, Medina y Navarro, 1874, pp. 70 and 72.



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Herrera the Elder and Francisco Pacheco appeared a few years after Roëlas. The rough and impetuous character of Herrera, noticeable even in his pictures, caused this painter to be a true type of the artists of his race. His picture at the Louvre of 'St. Basil Dictating his Doctrine' conveys a faithful reflection of the temperament of the painter. Pacheco, though a very well-educated man, a poet, and an art critic, was not, as a painter, on the same plane as Herrera. Both were the masters of Velazquez, and this fact, more than their works, has assured their fame.

Velazquez was born at Seville in 1599, and was baptized on Sunday, June the 6th, at the parish church of San Pedro, where his certificate of baptism is still preserved.[1]

It must be presumed that he was born a few days before the ceremony. Tradition has it that he first saw the light in the house numbered 8 in the Calle de Gorgoja, of which there is no trace at the present day. His parents were Don Juan Rodriguez de Silva, born in Seville, of an illustrious Portuguese family which had settled some time ago in that city, and Doña Geronima Velazquez, also of Seville, and a descendant of the Velazquez and the Zayas. The exact name of the painter should therefore be Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez. He signed himself Diego de Silva Velazquez; but all, from the highest to the lowest of those who have uttered his name, have called him, and always will call him, Velazquez.

Nothing of interest is known about his early years. He learned Latin and philosophy at an early age. In the course of his studies he gave evidence of an aptitude for the sciences, but from the first he showed a leaning towards painting. This inclination was not opposed by his parents, their circumstances allowing them to meet the expenses necessary for an artistic education. Thus we find that at the age of thirteen the young Velazquez was studying in the studio of Herrera.

In spite of the remarkable artistic personality of the latter, the influence which he exercised on his young pupil, and which was decisive according to several of the biographers of Velazquez, is far from being proved, and it is hardly credible that it could have taken deep root in the period of a few months' teaching. It does not

[1] This is the text: 'This Sunday, the 6th day of the month of June 1599, I, the licentiate Gregorio de Salazar, curé of the church of Saint Peter at Seville, baptized Diego, son of Juan Rodriguez de Silva and of Geronima Velazquez his wife: his Godfather being Pablo de Ojeda, living in the parish of the Magdalena, whom I have informed of the spiritual relationship contracted by him; made *ut supra*. El licenciado Gregorio de Salazar.'



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appear possible that Herrera could have placed a palette in the hand of Velazquez much before the age of fourteen; he would scarcely have had time to teach him the rudiments of drawing; and it is known that at the age of fourteen years Velazquez left his master. Besides, the extremely violent temper of Herrera was not likely to gain him the sympathy of a pupil of gentle nature, and the inflexible conscientiousness which Velazquez brought to the study of his art was diametrically opposed to the excessive freedom and impetuous imagination of his preceptor.

This was probably the reason why, in 1613, his parents took him to Francisco Pacheco, who had just returned from a long journey to Madrid, Toledo, and the Escurial; and who contributed not a little towards perfecting him in all the branches of his art. This new teaching was much more profitable to Velazquez than that of his former master; for, although more renowned as a painter than Pacheco, Herrera had a temperament and tendencies which were far from suitable for transmission to his pupils.

His extensive knowledge, which placed Pacheco far above Herrera, made him one of the most enlightened Spaniards of his day. He had, especially, a wonderful aptitude for understanding what was beautiful and for making others understand it. His house was an Academy which all the 'beaux esprits' of Seville and all those distinguished in art or literature made their common meeting-place. He was an elegant and subtle poet, a great lover of Latin literature, and his authority was recognised even by those whose technical skill surpassed his own.

For all these reasons, and perhaps above them all on account of the public and private virtues of Pacheco, the parents of Velazquez could not have done better than entrust to such a master the artistic training of their son Diego. Pacheco exercised a life-long influence on his pupil, for, besides teaching him his art, he contributed to his success by his counsels, his support, and his intercourse, and he ended by connecting him with his own family by giving him the hand of his daughter Juana. Thus it was that Señor Menéndez y Pelayo came to say that the best work of Pacheco was his son-in-law.[1]

The knowledge which Velazquez acquired in his youthful years at the Academy where every day the most notable men of Seville met together — most of them painted by Pacheco for his famous 'Descriptive Book of Authentic Portraits of Illustrious and Memorable Personages'—the stories which Pacheco must have related to him of his travels, tales enhanced by thoughtful comments on the master-

[1] *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, vol. ii. p. 621.



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pieces he had admired; the intercourse with friends such as Zurbaran and his fellow student Alonso Cano, all this daily education was admirably suited for shaping his virile and sober talent, and for developing that supreme distinction which, under a specious aspect of mere naturalism, is the characteristic quality of his inspired creations.

Pacheco, in his capacity of master had, above all, the talent of discovering and respecting from the very first the rare capabilities of his pupil, and principally his vigorous personality. This originality, which distinguished Velazquez from his youth, was noticed in its early stages by the sagacity of Pacheco; Velazquez, indeed, in the first pictures which he painted under the direction of Pacheco, struck out a line for himself with so much independence that, if we were not certain of the date of these works, it would be impossible to attribute them to a pupil of Pacheco, so different are they both in their style and tendencies from his. Velazquez freely followed his leaning towards the study of nature and its representation just as he saw it, without idealising it in the least. He limited his art to rendering as faithfully as possible the lines and forms of his models, in order to express what he wished to interpret with the greatest intensity. The faithful representation of nature was always the end to which he devoted himself with the strictest severity, guided in this at first by natural instinct, and impelled afterwards by a deep-rooted conviction. The slow but progressive evolution to be observed in his work is the fruit of that belief which became stronger as the education of his mind came into play, thanks to ceaseless study, travel, reading, and the other elements of intellectual culture.

Nobody could give a more exact account of the first pictures painted by Velazquez in his master's studio than Pacheco himself. In his *Art of Painting*[1] he tells us that the first attempts of his pupil were 'bodegones,'[2] and he adds, in favour of this style of painting, at that time and even later so much in vogue in Spain: 'The "bodegones" are worthy of very high esteem, for it is in them and in his portraits that he must have found the true way to imitate nature, thus encouraging many others by his powerful example.' And further on: 'It is in this belief that my son-in-law Diego Velazquez de Silva was brought up from childhood. He sketched a little peasant child who was a model for him in various poses and attitudes, sometimes weeping,

[1] *Arte de la Pintura, su antiguedad y grandezas*, printed at Seville in 1649. Don Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil had it reprinted by Manuel Galiano at Madrid in 1866.

[2] By 'bodegones' is also meant pictures with figures representing kitchen scenes or others of a similar nature.



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TWO YOUNG MEN AT A MEAL
LONDON, COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

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THE VINTAGER

LONDON, MESSRS. M. KNOEDLER AND CO.

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sometimes laughing, without attempting to avoid any of the difficulties. And from this boy and others he made numerous studies on blue paper in charcoal heightened with white, which enabled him to arrive at truthfulness in his portraits.'

It is to this period of his youth that several pictures of Velazquez belong, notably those which are mentioned by the learned Ponz,[1] and also those noted in the inventory of the Palace in 1772, in the following terms: 'A picture which represents a table on which are plates, dishes, and a pitcher; at this table two half-length figures are seated, by Velazquez.' This picture is now at Apsley House, in the possession of the Duke of Wellington, and, although neither the subject nor its arrangement offers any great interest, it is far from being an indifferent work (see Plate I.), if we consider the fidelity and relief with which the accessories are represented, including, as they do, besides the dishes and pitcher mentioned in the inventory, a pestle and mortar, a jug, and an orange placed on the pitcher. It is to be regretted that, owing to restorations, the faces have lost their original vivacity.

Professor Carl Justi, in his important work on Velazquez,[2] mentions other canvases in the same style and of the same period, which until now have passed for originals by the master, for example, the one representing a child carrying a basket of grapes, and accompanied by a servant (Mr. Salting's collection), and another entitled 'A Spanish Beggar,' belonging to Sir F. Cook—pictures which were shown at the Exhibition of Spanish Art at the New Gallery, in the winter of 1895-1896. The latter also figured in the Exhibition of the Works of Spanish Painters at the Guildhall in 1901.

As Professor Justi expresses some very well-founded doubts as to their authenticity, and as my own estimate of them is in accordance with his, I will pass over these pictures and note another, 'The Vintager' (see Plate II.), which was shown in the Historical Exhibition held in Madrid in 1892-1898, was subsequently sold and passed through different hands to the collection of Mr. E. F. Milliken of New York. Re-sold at Christie's in 1902, it was acquired by Mr. Laurie, who had formerly owned it. It is now in the possession of Messrs. M. Knoedler and Co., London. It represents the full-face

[1] *Viaje de España*, by Don Antonio Ponz. Printed at Madrid by Joaquin Ibarra, 1776, vol. vi. p. 38. Describing the pictures in the King's room at the Palace, he says: 'And in the same style, a bodegon representing two youths eating and drinking.'

[2] *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, by Carl Justi; Bonn, 1888. Two volumes. An English translation of this work by Prof. A. H. Keane, revised by the author, was published in London in 1889.



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view of a smiling young man in the act of stepping forward, and holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand and a knife in his left, a basket of grapes standing close by him. This figure, which is considerably less than life-size, and only half-length, stands out from a dark landscape analogous to those painted by the master in his pictures of that period. The eminent critic, M. Émile Michel,[1] was the first to describe this work, and to extol the freshness of the effect and the skill of the execution, especially of the bunches of grapes.

A picture belonging to this period, 'The Musicians' (see Plate III.), has just been added to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin. Round a table are three half-length figures drinking, singing, and playing on instruments. On the left is a young boy with a guitar in his right hand and a glass of wine in his left. In the middle is a young man, also with a guitar, who is singing, and on the right another, whose head, seen in profile, is of pure gipsy type, and who is playing the violin. This head, vigorously and splendidly painted, is the best part of the picture. On the table is a folded napkin with a loaf of bread and a knife on it, a glass, and at the side a round cheese, or something resembling that, with a little knife stuck in the middle of it. An ape appears in the background, between the boy and the extreme left of the picture. The background is dark grey, and the warm yellow tones, characteristic of the work of this period, are evident in this canvas.

I do not think this picture has been hitherto mentioned, although its subject is known from another quite similar picture which was in the Cañaveral collection at Seville, and which might be a replica, or rather an old copy, of the work now at Berlin. It was acquired by Dr. Bode from Mr. Langton Douglas, who bought it at an auction sale in Ireland, where it is said to have been brought from Spain at the time of the Peninsular War.

But, of all the pictures in this style painted by Velazquez in his youth, the most important are 'Breakfast,' the 'Old Woman Frying Eggs,' and the 'Water Carrier of Seville.' The 'Breakfast' is in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg, No. 1849. Both the others are in England, the former in the Cook collection at Richmond and the latter at Apsley House. The figures in these pictures are life-size, of half length, the light striking them obliquely from the left, and fairly high up, which proves that these pictures, as well as others in the first manner of the artist, were painted in a studio which received its

[1] *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, by Émile Michel; Paris, 1895. The article devoted to Velazquez appeared in the August and September numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of 1894.



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THE MUSICIANS
BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM

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**BREAKFAST**

ST. PETERSBURG, HERMITAGE GALLERY

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light from a window made in a thick wall at a considerable height from the ground. This is the only explanation of the vigorous chiaroscuro in which the figures and their surroundings are plunged, and its intensity has led some people to believe that the illumination was produced by the direct action of the sun.

The painting 'Breakfast' (see Plate IV.) represents three people of the lower class, an old man, a youth of about eighteen years of age, and a boy of twelve. The two former are seated at a table, covered with a white table-cloth, on which there is a loaf of bread, two pomegranates, a knife, a glass of white wine, and a plate bearing articles of food, which appear to be pigs' feet. The old man has a radish in his hand, the boy raises a bottle of wine in a triumphant sort of manner, and the young man in the foreground smiles knowingly at the onlooker, pointing to the boy with an expressive gesture of the hand. Hanging on the wall in the background can be seen the white ruffle of the old man, a cap, and two swords. This typical representation of the merry people who frequented taverns is as realistic a piece of work as one could wish to see, and characteristic of his early years. The lower part of the canvas is well preserved, that is to say, the white table-cloth, the food and other articles on the table. It is to be deplored that the heads and hands, owing to restoration, have lost their primitive vigour.

Up to the present no mention has been made of this picture in any of the works published on Velazquez. Nothing is known as to how and when it found its way to the Hermitage, from whose store-room it was recently brought to light, and rightly classified as an authentic work of Velazquez by the director of the Berlin Museum, the renowned Dr. Bode.

As to the picture of the 'Old Woman Frying Eggs' (see Plate V.), described, though but imperfectly, by Palomino at the beginning of the eighteenth century,[1] we are ignorant of its history from the day it was finished until the time it reappeared, some years ago, in the collection of Sir John C. Robinson, whence it passed into that of the present owner.

Velazquez has represented in this two half-length figures. An old woman, in profile, her head covered by a large white cap, holds in her right hand a wooden spoon with which she is preparing to take out the fried eggs, while in her left she holds an egg still intact. In front of her

[1] *El Museo Pictorico y Escala Optica*, por Don Antonio Palomino y Velasco, Pintor de Su Majestad, Madrid. Two volumes, the first published in 1715, and the second in 1724.



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is a table on which are placed several kitchen utensils, among them the pestle and mortar reproduced in the picture already described. The old woman appears to be addressing a boy who approaches her, carrying a bottle in his left hand, and with his right clasping a superb melon closely to him. A small stove, where some embers are glowing, and on which the frying-pan is placed, a cauldron leaning against the stove, and a basket of rags hanging from the old wall which serves as a background to the picture, supply the complementary elements of this work, whose every detail is rendered with a surprising truth of drawing and colour, especially the boy's head, which is modelled with a vigour which bears witness to the masterly talent of the painter. The white head-dress of the old woman is the brightest note in the picture, and stands out vividly against the sombre tones peculiar to the artist at that period.

The 'Water Carrier of Seville' (see Plate VI.) is even superior to the work we have just described, and it is certainly the picture which gained Velazquez most celebrity in his native town before he left it, at the age of twenty-four, to go and settle in Madrid. Its superiority impresses itself upon the beholder when he contemplates its sobriety of arrangement, the more artistic grouping of the figures, and the extreme simplicity of the elements of the work. It is enough to compare these two pictures to assign, without a moment's hesitation, to the composition of the 'Old Woman' a date several months earlier than that of the 'Water Carrier.' The former is drier and harder, and shows less experience in the arrangement. Moreover, the boy who figures in it, and who was also the model for the latter picture, appears a little younger, though the difference is but inconsiderable.

The three figures of the 'Water Carrier' stand out from a very dark background. The principal figure—'The Corsican,' so called on account of his origin, a popular 'Aguador' at the time when Velazquez immortalised him—is offering a glass of water to a young boy. Between them, and at the back, appears a third boy, who is draining a little jug of the fresh water, but he is so much in shadow that it is barely possible to distinguish him. A table, on which is an 'alcarraza' covered by a kind of cup which serves as a lid, and a large jug in the foreground, complete the picture.

The heads of the two principal figures might well pass for portraits, so great is the intensity of expression and character. The accessories are painted with extraordinary relief and animation, and there is a most dignified simplicity apparent in the draperies, notably in the



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OLD WOMAN FRYING EGGS
RICHMOND, COLLECTION OF SIR F. COOK, BART.

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THE WATER-CARRIER OF SEVILLE

LONDON, COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

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water-carrier's cloak, and in his white sleeve, which is the highest light in the picture. These two pictures were painted in the dry and harsh manner characteristic of Velazquez during this period, with a somewhat thick impasto in the bright parts, and even in the shadows, which, generally speaking, appear but a little less transparent. Warm tones predominate in the colouring, an effect due in part to the pronounced brown shade of the heads and hands.

These three canvases might be considered as the first of this style painted by Velazquez in his youth, and the 'Water-Carrier' especially might have revealed to any careful observer what might be expected of an artist who began in such a masterly manner. It is possible, indeed, to follow the vicissitudes of this picture from the time it was painted up to the present day. After having occupied a place of honour in the palaces of the sovereigns of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it was seized in the baggage of King Joseph Bonaparte after the battle of Vittoria, in 1814; and a short time afterwards Ferdinand VII. gave it, with other art treasures, to the Duke of Wellington, who effected its capture.

Velazquez was the first in Spain to be inspired, in his pictures, by the types of the 'Romanza picaresca,' so popular in that country. It will suffice to recall, among the numerous books of that nature then in circulation, *El Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Guzman de Alfarache*, *La Pícara Justina*, without forgetting those which the genius of Cervantes had popularised under the name of *Novelas Ejemplares*, in order to understand the genesis of this movement among painters. This literature, rich in local colour, and in the types and manners of the lower classes, must, with a painter so realistic as our artist, have been the inspiration of such a picture as the 'Water-Carrier,' which was but the forerunner of other more important works which he produced later.

Several paintings in the same style, to be found in private collections and in museums, have been assigned to the master, but I cannot trace in any of them the unequivocal touches of his hand.

Neither can I admit the authenticity of the 'Dead Warrior' in the National Gallery (No. 741), although this picture came from the Pourtalès collection, and since its sale in Paris, in 1865, under the name of 'Roland Mort,' has had the weighty approbation of Paul Mantz, and has been accepted as genuine by Sir Walter Armstrong in his book on the master published a few years ago,[1] and placed among

[1] *Velazquez: a Study of his Life and Art*, by Walter Armstrong, director of the National Gallery of Ireland; London, 1897.



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the originals in the first manner of Velazquez. Nevertheless, from the time of the acquisition of this picture by the National Gallery up to the present, the opinions pronounced upon it tend more and more to discredit the original attribution, and the authenticity of the picture has already been indicated on the label on the frame as doubtful. For my own part, I would go so far as to exclude this work altogether from its classification among those of the Spanish school.

Velazquez was reproached for his marked preference for bodegones, and the representation of scenes of everyday life, by certain people who wished to see him paint, with dignity and splendour, subjects of a higher order, by means of which he might vie with Raphael of Urbino. To these he ingeniously replied, that he preferred to be the 'first in the trivial, rather than the second in the sublime.'

In the early years of his artistic career, however, he pays tribute to religious painting. Ceán Bermudez[1] quotes two pictures of this nature which were in the Church of the Carmen Calzado at Seville, an 'Immaculate Conception' and a 'St. John the Evangelist Writing the Apocalypse.'[2] I cannot hazard an opinion on these works, as I do not know them, and I pass at once to the 'Christ in the House of Martha' (see Plate VII.), in the National Gallery (No. 1375), bequeathed by Sir William A. Gregory in 1892, the subject of which, inspired by the Gospel, is treated in a purely realistic fashion. A young girl, seen at half-length, is engaged in using a pestle and mortar placed on a table, on which are also two dishes, one containing four fishes, and the other two eggs. An old woman standing behind the girl appears to wish to attract her attention by placing her hands on her shoulder. In the background, seen through a window or bay, is a room in which the Saviour is seated in conversation with Martha and Mary, the former standing, the latter on her knees. The qualities of the execution of this singular work, and the irrefutable analogy it offers with the other pictures of the master, are proofs of its authenticity. Velazquez must have painted it at the same period as the 'Old Woman Frying Eggs,' because in both pictures he has worked from the same model.

The most important religious picture of this period is undoubtedly the 'Adoration of the Magi' (see Plate VIII.) in the Prado Museum

[1] *Diccionario Historico de los mas Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*, compuesto por Don Juan Augustin Ceán Bermudez, y publicado por la Real Academia de San Fernando; Madrid, 1800.

[2] These pictures were bought at the beginning of the nineteenth century by J. H. Frere, the English Minister at Madrid, and, according to Justi, were still in the possession of his heirs a few years ago. This family does not own them at the present day, and I have lost all trace of them.



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CHRIST IN THE HOUSE OF MARTHA
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

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THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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(No. 1054), which is dated 1619, at which time the artist was only twenty years of age. This fact alone is sufficient to establish the fame of a picture so seriously conceived, of which the execution, hard, but firm and vigorous like that of the 'Water-Carrier,' is most carefully carried out, as well in the chief parts, the heads and the hands, as in the magnificent folds of the draperies and in all the accessories.

The Virgin is represented seated, showing the divine Child to the Magi, who are offering him golden cups. Two of the kings are kneeling, while the third is standing. St. Joseph is on the right of the picture, and behind the Magi is seen the head of a young man. A kind of portico, from which the group formed by the Virgin, the Child and St. Joseph stands out in relief, and a bit of landscape, with trees, mountains, and a glimpse of sky, form the background. It is easy to see from the expression of the faces in this picture that each of them is a faithful portrait. The probable age of the Child leads us to think that it was perhaps the eldest of the daughters of Velazquez, who was born in 1619. The painter has given the Child an expression which is animated and penetrating without ceasing to be childlike.

Like all those which Velazquez executed at that period, this picture is painted in an exceedingly sombre tone, and with an exaggerated hardness. These characteristics lessen its attractiveness, but one is struck by its lustre and by the sculptural relief of many of the details, as well as by the deep conscientiousness with which nature has been interpreted. It is evidently of an earlier date than the 'Water-Carrier,' which is less dry, and reveals a greater artistic experience.

Neither in Curtis's[1] catalogue nor in any of the biographies of Velazquez issued before the first edition of this work was published, is any mention to be found of the three religious pictures about to be described. The first, undoubtedly authentic, and dating from the early days of Velazquez, represents 'Christ and the Pilgrims of Emmaus'[2] (see Plate IX.). There are three life-size figures of Christ and the two disciples at table, according to the story of the New Testament, so differently interpreted by so many painters. The Saviour is on the left, in strong light, and his head surrounded by an aureole. With his right hand he is taking the bread which is placed on a table covered with a white cloth. In the foreground, with his

[1] *Velazquez and Murillo: A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue.* By Charles B. Curtis; London, 1883.

[2] Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, in his well-known book *Velazquez and his Works*, speaks of a picture with the same subject belonging to Lord Breadalbane, at Taymouth. Curtis catalogues this work, whose authenticity is doubted by Thoré, but it is not the one now described.



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back towards the spectator, one of the disciples starts back as if struck with astonishment at the sight of his Master. The third figure is full face on the other side of the table, and more in the shade. The heads, hands, and draperies are modelled with great relief, and with the care peculiar to the first manner of the artist. This was one of the paintings in the collection of Señor Cañaveral, from whence it passed into the hands of Señora Viuda de Garzon. It was sold not long since by this lady, and is at the present day the property of Don Manuel Soto, in Zürich.

It is to this period, although I am inclined to think it was painted a little earlier, that another religious picture (see Plate x.) belongs, representing St. Peter seated on a rock, with his eyes raised towards the sky. The apostle's hands are crossed below his left knee, and his bare feet are visible under his tunic. Velazquez employed as a model for this figure, which is a little smaller than life, a peasant of powerful build with face and hands bronzed by the sun. The figure of the saint stands out from the sombre background of a grotto through the entrance to which can be seen hills, trees, and a river. For this landscape, which has much of the same character as those which served as a background for the 'Adoration of the Magi' and 'The Vintager,' and is of a darker tone than the extensive and luminous landscapes of the environs of Seville, he was influenced by the custom in vogue among his contemporaries and masters in treating such subjects. The bold drawing of the face of St. Peter, and the vigorous modelling of the folds of the tunic and brown cloak with which the saint is clothed, reveal the hand of Velazquez. This painting was in possession of the Count del Aguila in Seville, and later in the aforementioned Cañaveral collection, and is now in my possession.

In the archiepiscopal palace at Seville is the third of these religious pictures, ignored until very recently by the biographers of the master. It represents 'The Virgin, surrounded by angels, delivering the chasuble to St. Ildefonso.' The figures are a little less than life size. Although this picture is in very bad condition its authenticity may be affirmed from what remains. The chief fragment is the head of the saint seen in profile, and appears to be the portrait of an ecclesiastic of the time. He is kneeling, and is dressed in black, and wears a

[1] In the new edition of his work Professor Justi frankly corrects the statements made in the first edition, and excludes this painting from the works of Velazquez. He admits its similarity with that of Zurbaran's on the same subject, which was to be found up to within a few years at the Palace of 'San Telmo,' although he will not positively assert it to be by the latter artist.



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CHRIST AND THE PILGRIMS OF EMMAUS
ZURICH, COLLECTION OF DON MANUEL DE SOTO

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ST. PETER

MADRID, COLLECTION OF DON A. DE BERUETE

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plain collarette. The face of the Virgin has been almost entirely repainted in the most atrocious way. With one exception the angels have suffered similar treatment.

There is in the National Gallery a picture representing the 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' which formerly belonged to Count del Aguila at Seville, was bought by Baron Taylor for the Spanish Gallery of Louis Philippe at the Louvre, and, finally, at the sale of that collection, was purchased for the National Gallery. The old attribution to Velazquez has often been doubted. The critics who affirmed its authenticity, such as Professor Justi[1] and Sir Walter Armstrong, agree that it differs from the other pictures painted in the first manner of the artist, in that the colouring is richer and more brilliant, the composition more artistic, and there is more colour in the shadows, the types also are nobler; and they deduce from these considerations that Velazquez in this work imitated for the first and last time in his life the manner of Ribera. It is hardly from such hypotheses that the conclusion can be arrived at that the 'Adoration of the Shepherds' is from the brush of Velazquez. The arguments brought forward by these critics tend on the contrary to prove that the attribution is not correct, and one might even add among other proofs, that, judging from certain portions of the work, notably the face of the Virgin, those of the infant Jesus, and of the young man in the foreground, this picture ought to be classed among the best works of Zurbaran, to whom I do not hesitate to attribute it.

Viardot shares this view, which has also become that of Sir Edward Poynter, the late Director of the National Gallery, after an examination of different pictures by Zurbaran in Spain, and especially at Seville.

Was Velazquez under the influence of Ribera at this time, as several of his biographers suppose? M. Paul Lefort, whose works[1] on Spanish art and artists are so trustworthy, affirms it in an article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (November 1, 1894).

He reminds us that in 1618, at which date Ribera was thirty years old, his pictures must have been known to Zurbaran and Velazquez. This is contrary to Professor Justi's hypothesis: he believes that the pictures of Spagnoletto did not appear in Seville until 1631, that is to say eight years after Velazquez had definitely left his native town.

[1] Among the works of this critic we must mention, besides several articles published in different Art magazines, 'Velazquez' (1888), in the collection *Artistes Célèbres*. This work first appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* of 1879 and following years. *La Peinture espagnole*. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux Arts, 1893, may also be mentioned.



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In the early known works of Velazquez, the 'Adoration of the Magi,' the 'Old Woman Frying Eggs,' and the 'Water-Carrier of Seville,' and in all those he painted in Seville, we find characteristics of the same nature as those in the pictures of Ribera, namely, a very vigorous chiaro-oscuro and a sharp relief, but as these characteristics are common to both, it does not follow that either of the two masters had any influence on the other. If, then, in 1631 there were not yet any pictures by Ribera at Seville, how could Velazquez have seen them in 1619, the date of the composition of the 'Adoration of the Magi'? The following theory may be advanced to explain these resemblances between the two painters: that the instinct which guided both towards the realistic interpretation of the model was the same, but the progressive development of their tastes caused an increasing divergence between their respective manners of painting. Velazquez even at the beginning of his career saw things more broadly and more simply than Ribera, who dwelt on all the features one by one, and accentuated the smallest details.

The influence of Zurbaran on Velazquez is even less probable than that which is attributed to Ribera. Zurbaran indeed, although gifted with an exceptional artistic temperament, did not surpass Velazquez: so that if either had any influence on the other, Velazquez would have been the imitated rather than the imitator. As companions of the same age (Zurbaran was only seven months older than Velazquez), it is not credible that there should have existed any other feeling between them than the natural rivalry caused by the success of their respective works.

It still remains to inquire whether the supposed influence exercised at that time on Velazquez by Luis Tristan rests on any sounder basis.

This opinion was brought forward by Palomino, and taken up by Ceán Bermudez. Stirling-Maxwell[1] admits it without reserve in his *Annals*, and he even adds that Velazquez always rendered homage to the genius of Tristan, a declaration considerably weakened by statements afterwards made in his work devoted to the former master.[2] Cruzada Villaamil, in his interesting work on Velazquez,[3] also shares this opinion, which, thanks to the support of these authorities, has become an article of faith, except with a small number of people who still remain incredulous. Among these is Professor Justi, who points out

[1] *Annals of the Artists of Spain.* By William Stirling. London, 1848. 3 volumes.

[2] *Velazquez and his Works.* By William Stirling. London, 1855.

[3] *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velazquez escritos con ayuda de nuevos documentos.* Por Cruzada Villaamil. Madrid, 1885. There are very few copies of this work in existence, and it was not put on the market.



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that the preference of Velazquez for Tristan could not have become manifest before his first journey to Madrid in 1622, and M. Lefort, who affirms still more emphatically in reference to this assertion, 'that it has the air of a legend,' and that even if Velazquez had seen Tristan's works, the influence exercised by the latter was not greater than the more lasting and less disputed influence of other painters. It is incomprehensible that such a hypothesis has held good for so long. Even if we suppose that Velazquez had been able to see any important picture by Tristan at Seville—an indispensable condition if we wish to prove that he intended to imitate the style of that master and to assimilate some of his qualities,—it will suffice to examine the principal pictures of Tristan, and notably that which is considered his masterpiece, the retable in the parish church of Yepes, which still adorns the sanctuary for which it was painted in 1616, to understand that they could in no way have influenced Velazquez or induced him to imitate the style of their author.

It is not necessary to seek to discover the origin of the style of the early works of Velazquez in any extraneous influence whatsoever; it arose in the special temperament of the painter, who, far from troubling himself about the tendencies of a school, avoided them, and, from the very first, confined himself to interpreting nature as sincerely as possible, thus accentuating his own personality. In the choice of his subjects and in his way of treating religious scenes he succumbed, no doubt, to the influence of his environment, impregnated as it was with realism, just as his contemporaries Zurbaran, Castillo and others did, and as Valencio Ribalta, and especially his pupil Ribera, had done before them. This fidelity to nature so characteristic of the Spanish School in the seventeenth century inspired the finest creations of that period; and one might say that all the works conceived without this tendency were, with only a few rare exceptions, merely cold imitations or unsatisfactory productions.

The marriage of Velazquez with Juana Pacheco, his master's daughter, was celebrated on the 23rd of April 1618. The great poet Francisco de Rioja was one of the witnesses. A document preserved in the church of San Miguel at Seville verifies the event, but Pacheco speaks of it in expressive and eloquent terms: 'After five years of education and instruction I gave him my daughter in marriage, encouraged thereto by his virtues, his general bearing, and fine qualities, and by the hopes which his happy nature and great talent raised in me.'



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The enthusiasm with which Velazquez inspired his father-in-law revealed itself more than once, and a proof of it may be found in the journey which the young painter (already the father of two daughters, the first Francisca, baptized May 18th, 1619; and the second Ignacia, baptized January 29th, 1621), made to Madrid in April 1622, a journey in view of which Pacheco provided his son-in-law with letters of introduction to a number of people of quality with whom he had relations at Madrid.

Velazquez, however, did not succeed in his object, which was to be presented at Court, although, among others, the Gentleman Usher to the King, Juan Fonseca y Figueroa, a great friend of Pacheco, interested himself in the matter. He had to be content with visiting the Palace at Madrid, those of the Pardo and Aranjuez and the monastery of the Escurial. His father-in-law commissioned him to paint the portrait of the great poet Luis de Gongora, but it is impossible to admit that that portrait is the one which passes for such in the Prado Museum (No. 1085), in which none of the qualities peculiar to the works of the master are to be recognised, and I should rather call it a Zurbaran.

On the other hand, I would call attention to another portrait, that of an unknown young man (see Plate XI.), also in the Prado Museum (No. 1103), doubtless painted at Seville a short time before the journey in question, which has the peculiarity of being the only authentic portrait in existence dating from the youth of Velazquez. There is a firmness of drawing which recalls the works of the German and Flemish painters of the earlier centuries. The colouring is of that tanned-leather tone so characteristic of the first works of the master. The plaited ruff, the only ornament of this bust, which ends at the neck, is an excellent example of the minute fidelity with which Velazquez studied his model.

Here, in my opinion, the list of pictures painted by Velazquez before his second and final journey to Madrid must be brought to a close.

Unfortunately, besides the canvases which have come down to us, several works of his younger days have disappeared as a result of the ravages of time, the disturbances caused by wars and revolutions, and perhaps by general neglect. Among the number of pictures lost are all the drawings of which Pacheco speaks, and his first attempts in oil; for it is evident that before carrying out the pictures to be described, Velazquez must have made numerous preliminary studies, but unfortunately we have not been able to find any.



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PORTRAIT OF A MAN
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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# CHAPTER II

Second journey to Madrid—Velazquez enters the King's service—First portraits of the King—'Portrait of a Geographer' in the Rouen Museum—Portraits of the Prince of Wales and of the Infant Don Carlos—The striking originality of the first portraits of Velazquez at the Court—The King's favour for Velazquez excites the jealousy of the Court painters—'The Expulsion of the Moriscos'—Honours granted by the King—'Portrait of a young man' in the Munich Pinakothek—Rubens at Madrid in 1628—His intercourse with Velazquez—'Los Borrachos'—The King authorises Velazquez to undertake a journey to Italy and furnishes him with funds.

IN the spring of 1623, a year after his journey to Madrid, Velazquez was commissioned by the Count-Duke of Olivares, the favourite and minister of Philip IV., to paint the portrait of the young monarch. He left at once for Madrid, accompanied this time by Pacheco, who, wise and discerning man that he was, must have foreseen in this journey, which opened the doors of the Court to his son-in-law, the prelude to the successes which there awaited him.

His first work painted at Madrid was the portrait of the Gentleman Usher, Fonseca. This picture, which has since disappeared, was taken to the Palace, as soon as it was finished, by a son of the Count of Peñaranda, chamberlain to the Cardinal Infante Don Ferdinand of Austria, and all those who were invited to see it, the Cardinal Infante, his brother the Infante Don Carlos, the grandees, in short, all the dignitaries of the Court, praised its merits to such a degree that the King heard of it, expressed a wish to see it, and, carried away by the general enthusiasm, then and there commanded Velazquez to paint his portrait.

The execution of this work had to be delayed owing to the manifold occupations of the King, who could not give a sitting until August 30th. The triumph of the artist was complete, and, as a reward for his work, he was received into the King's service, with a salary of 20 ducats a month; a paltry reward, but one which was in conformity with the customs of the time.[1] Indeed, a few years before, in 1617, the painter

[1] The order by which the King admitted Velazquez into his service was dated October 6th, 1623. The Spanish ducat of that time was worth about 2s. 3d.



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Bartolomé Gonzalez had entered the King's service with a monthly salary of 16 ducats, besides which it was stipulated that he should receive nothing extra for his pictures.

The keystone of this success, according to Pacheco, was the approbation of the Count-Duke of Olivares, who maintained that no painter had ever succeeded so well in painting the King's portrait. The King, too, ordered his favourite to have all his portraits which were in the Palace removed, and added that in the future only Velazquez should paint his portrait.

It is very difficult to tell exactly which was the first portrait of Philip IV. Might it be, as Palomino, who has described it, affirms, the famous equestrian portrait, so extolled by the poets of the day, which was shown in the Calle Mayor in front of San Felipe el Real, and was supposed to have been destroyed in the fire at the Palace in 1734? Pacheco does not say that this equestrian portrait was the first painted by Velazquez of the King; he only says 'he made the first portrait of the King on August 30th, 1623, as well as a sketch of the Prince of Wales, who paid him 100 crowns for it,' and further on, 'having finished the portrait of his Majesty on horseback, the whole done from nature including the landscape, etc.' Cruzada Villaamil, in transcribing the Latin inscription found on one side of the picture, which bears the date 1625, rightly supposes that before carrying out the equestrian portrait, Velazquez painted, in 1623, the one which is now in the Prado Museum (No. 1070) (See Plate XII.). Philip IV., then eighteen years of age, is represented standing in front of a table and dressed entirely in black.

It is almost certain that Velazquez painted, as a previous study for this picture, the portrait-bust which is also in the Prado (No. 1071) (See Plate XIII.). Its drier and tighter manner shows that it must have been painted direct from the living model. The armour and the scarf of the King were evidently repainted by him at a much later date, for their technique is far freer than that of the head.

In spite of the grievous loss of the equestrian portrait, we have in these two superb paintings specimens of the talent of Velazquez when he became known at Court. They are the first of that long series of portraits of the King which Velazquez painted in the course of his life. How interesting it would be to analyse, by the aid of so many representations of the same person, the furrows hollowed out by time and the cares of life on the cold, impassive, mask-like face of Philip, and at the same time to follow the slow but always progressive evolution of the artist during a period of nearly forty years, from 1623 to 1660, the



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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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THE GEOGRAPHER
ROUEN, MUSEUM

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year when the death of Velazquez deprived the King of his favourite painter.

The full-length portrait of Philip which we have just described must be considered as the first of the important works still in existence which Velazquez painted on his arrival in Madrid, and already essential differences from the earlier works executed in Seville can be observed.

The Boston Museum acquired in Madrid, in 1904, as an authentic Velazquez, a portrait very similar to this one at the Prado (No. 1070), known to the public since the time it was exhibited in the Historical-European-Exhibition held in Madrid in 1892 during the celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America. In my opinion, and in that of the majority of Spanish critics, this portrait is an old copy of an original by Velazquez, identical as it is in lines and composition with another more important painting in the Palace of Villahermosa, in Madrid, which evidently was not taken from nature, because it lacks that firmness of execution which Velazquez always displayed when working from the living model. Besides, the personage depicted lacks that characteristic feature of the prominent lower jaw which led me to think that, rather than a portrait of the King, the picture represented the Infante Don Fernando de Austria, younger brother of the sovereign, whom he greatly resembled. There is, however, no longer ground for this supposition, owing to the discovery by Sr. Mèlida of an autograph receipt by Velazquez, dated Madrid, 4th December 1624, found in Zarauz, in the archives of the House of Narros, from whence this portrait came.

In this document Velazquez acknowledges, in his own handwriting, that he has received on account the sum of eight hundred reales (£8) for the three portraits of the King, the Duke of Olivares, and Sr. Garciperez. This portrait of Sr. Garciperez has disappeared. That of the Duke of Olivares, which bears the same defects as the portrait of the King, is with the latter in the Palace of Villahermosa. In my opinion both come from Velazquez's studio, but, for the reasons already stated, can only be included among the replicas of the artist.

It is probable that he also painted at the same period as the two portraits of the Prado, the picture now in the Rouen Museum, entitled 'Portrait of a Geographer' (see Plate XIV.), formerly called 'Portrait of Christopher Columbus,' and attributed to Ribera. The geographer is represented life-size and half length, and bows with a burlesque gesture and mocking smile towards a globe of the world to which he points with his left hand. Clothed in a dark green dress and brown cloak,



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the figure stands out boldly from the warm grey background. On the table near him are placed the globe and two books, with most realistic effect. M. Gonse[1] believes, with good reason, that Velazquez himself retouched the head several years after the completion of the picture, and, according to M. Bonnat and Señor P. de Madrazo, he used as a model on this occasion a buffoon of the Court called 'Pablillos de Valladolid,' whose portrait he afterwards painted. Indeed, with the exception of the beard being shaved in the Rouen picture, there is a certain resemblance between the two faces, and as an interval of ten years must undoubtedly have elapsed between the execution of the two works, it might very well be inferred that Velazquez, in his incessant attempts at the truthful representation of his models, replaced the original head by that of Pablillos de Valladolid, leaving intact the rest of the picture, which presents all the dryness and harshness, as well as the scrupulous exactitude, characteristic of his early works.

Besides having lost all traces of Fonseca's portrait, we are also ignorant of what has become of the sketch of the Prince of Wales (afterwards the unfortunate Charles I.), who came incognito to Madrid on the 17th March, some days before the arrival of Velazquez, to negotiate about his marriage with the Infanta Doña Maria, sister to the King. This Prince remained at the Court of Spain till the 9th of September, during which time, failing to attain the principal object of his visit, he gratified his love for art by acquiring a considerable number of works. He was lavishly entertained by the King and dignitaries of the Court, who made him valuable presents. Philip IV., seeing the enthusiasm which Charles displayed over Titian's famous canvas, 'Jupiter and Antiope,' then known as the 'Venus del Pardo,' which is in the Louvre at the present day, presented him with the picture, which, like the rest of the collection, was sold after his tragic death. Velazquez began his portrait, which was, however, only sketched in, the Prince having hurriedly taken it away after paying him one hundred escudos for it. Nothing is known of this remarkable sketch, which has disappeared without leaving any trace of its existence except what Pacheco tells us.

Another picture even more interesting from an artistic point of view than the full-length portrait of Philip IV. is that which Velazquez painted of the Infante Don Carlos (No. 1073 in the Prado Museum) (see Plate XV.). The painter has made evident progress, although

[1] 'Un tableau de Velazquez au Musée de Rouen,' by Louis Gonse. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, February, 1893.



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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTE DON CARLOS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN
MUNICH, PINAKOTHEK

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only about four years had elapsed between the execution of the two pictures; for the Infante, born in 1607, appears from his portrait to be about twenty years of age.

This picture, where the figure, painted without any accessories, stands out from an uniform grey background, is perhaps, on account of its perfect sobriety and distinction, the finest of the portraits of this period. Nothing could be happier than the silhouette of the young Prince, a type of the gentlemen of his Court, dressed in a magnificent black costume. His face, which calls to mind that of the King, is certainly not the most successful part of the work; doubtless the artist had not time thoroughly to study his model, for want of a sufficient number of sittings, a disadvantage common to the majority of portraits of persons of high rank, as much on account of their numerous engagements, as because they do not realise how important it is for the success of a portrait that the subject should sit as often as possible.

But these imperfections, visible only when the head is closely studied, detract nothing from the magnificent effect of the whole. The Infante is standing, holding his hat in his left hand and a glove in his right; his legs, although extremely thin and slender, support with an easy grace his elegant body.

It is impossible to find a more living work or one of more perfect simplicity: it is Nature herself surprised by the synthetic eye of Velazquez and interpreted by him with his innate superiority. Nevertheless the portrait is spoilt here and there by the hard manner of painting, a fault which we shall see gradually disappear in later works. The painter reveals in this portrait, and in those which we have already described, great independence and marked individuality; he showed the Court a style quite different from that to which it was accustomed; for such portraits had nothing in common with those by Titian, Mor, and others which adorned the Royal Palace. These masters made their figures stand out from dark backgrounds, and the tone of their paintings is generally warm. With Velazquez, on the contrary, the backgrounds of this period are grey, the tone a little cold, and the predominating harmony of the blacks and greys gives a stamp of rare distinction to the whole.

It is needless to say that the preference shown by the King for Velazquez gained him the dislike of his colleagues, the former Court painters, Bartolomé Gonzalez, Vicente Carducho, and Eugenio Caxes. The two latter were Italians, or of Italian descent, as was also Angelo Nardi, who was added to their number in 1627 in consequence of the



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death of Bartolomé Gonzalez. The young Velazquez, fresh from the country, who, at a single bound had placed himself at the head of all, threatening besides their own reputations the supremacy of the Italian tradition, could not but have been the object of their jealousy. Carducho, in his *Dialogues on Painting*,[1] only mentions the name of Velazquez once, and even then he was forced to do so, as he was discussing the pictures hung in the Room of the Mirrors in the Palace of Madrid: but, on the other hand, he made a very transparent allusion in the following passage: 'I know another painter who is as audacious as he is fortunate, of whom we can say he was born a painter, so obedient are brushes and colours to his will; who is aided, moreover, by his impetuous temperament rather than by study.' Another passage even more biting deals with 'those artists who give proof of having little knowledge and little self-respect by lowering this noble art to the production of trivial conceptions such as bodegones, drunkards, gamblers, and swindlers without there being in these pictures (so common in these days) any other interest or skill than the caprice of the painter in representing half a dozen brazen good-for-nothings.'

It is related that the King, having become aware of these criticisms by the Court painters, led the conversation on to this subject, and told Velazquez that it was said of him 'that he could only paint heads,' to which the artist calmly replied, 'these gentlemen do me a great honour, for personally I do not think any one is capable of painting them well.'

Moved, however, by these words, and desirous of proving that, in spite of his predilection for the subjects which his rivals so much decried, he was not incapable of producing other works of a character generally considered more elevated, Velazquez begged the King to give him an opportunity of rendering this power patent to the eyes of every one. Philip IV. acceded to the wish of his favourite painter, and chose an historical subject of recent date: the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609 by Philip III., and ordered Carducho, Caxes, and Nardi to paint the same subject in competition with Velazquez.

With regard to the picture with which this historical event inspired Velazquez, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell maintains that, carried away by the evil spirit of the age, the master abased his art by thus making himself a panegyrist of cruelty and wrong. This critic forgets that neither good nor virtue is the end of art, and that the artist cannot allow himself to be the champion of any social or political tendency.

[1] *Dialogos de la pintura, su defensa y origen, etc.* By Vincencio Carducho, 1633. Reprinted a Madrid in 1865, by Don Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil.



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## 'THE EXPULSION OF THE MORISCOS'

Art exists by itself and finds its object in itself. The best proof of this independence is to be found in the history of Velazquez himself, who spent nearly all his life in painting the personages and the actions of a corrupt Court without the merit of his works being in any way lessened.

The 'Expulsion of the Moriscos,' then, was the subject treated by the four competitors, and their works were judged by a tribunal composed of Juan Bautista Crescenzio, a celebrated painter and architect of Italian origin, and therefore a compatriot of three of the competitors, and Juan Bautista Mayno, a famous painter, pupil of El Greco, and late drawing-master of Philip IV. The prize was awarded to Velazquez, whose superiority was thus assured. This picture was most probably destroyed in 1734 by the fire in the Alcazar, where so many art treasures perished in the flames. There are no engravings or reproductions of this picture of any kind in existence, and any idea we may have of what it was like is due to Palomino, who saw it in the great Salon of the Alcazar, and thus describes it: 'In the middle of the picture is Philip III. in armour, with his bâton in his hand pointing to a weeping multitude of men, women and children who are being led away by soldiers; in the distance are waggons, and the sea dotted with ships. . . . On the right of the King, Spain, in the guise of a majestic woman armed in the Roman fashion, is seated at the foot of a building; with her right hand she is holding a shield and arrows and with her left some ears of corn.' Under the picture was a Latin inscription relative to the event and the date of the execution of the work, 1627.

In 1625 Velazquez received a fresh mark of his sovereign's favour: he was given a bounty of 300 ducats, and afterwards a pension amounting to the same sum was granted to him, to obtain which he had to get a dispensation of Pope Urban VIII. in 1626. Then came the bestowal of lodgings valued at 200 ducats a year, and finally, as the result of the triumph obtained by 'The Expulsion of the Moriscos,' the concession of the post of Gentleman Usher, for which the artist took the oath on March 7th 1627.

It was doubtless about this time that the portrait in the Munich Pinakothek (see Plate XVI.) was painted, the only authentic work of Velazquez in that rich collection. It represents a young man between twenty and thirty years of age, half-length and life-size, dressed in black, with a simple collarette. His right hand rests on his hip, and his left apparently on the hilt of his sword. Neither of the hands is painted, the outline alone being there. In this picture, which is in a



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perfect state of preservation, the head, which is superb in drawing and modelling, and recalls forcibly the Bacchus in 'Los Borrachos,' stands out with great vigour. The preparation of the canvas is of a reddish colour, as is the case with the majority of the pictures of the artist executed in this style; it is visible on examining the unpainted parts of the hands and the space left unpainted between the outline of the figure and the grey background.

At the end of August or beginning of September 1628 the celebrated painter Rubens made his second journey to Madrid. He was charged with a diplomatic mission relative to the conclusion of peace between England and Spain. It would be out of place here to give the history of this embassy, but the journey has an importance of its own, for from it dates the supposed influence exercised, according to some authors, by the Flemish artist on Velazquez. Rubens was at that time fifty-one years old, he had arrived at mature age and the summit of his glory; no painter could rival him, and the most important and secret missions were entrusted to his diplomacy, to the successful issue of which his knowledge of the world and his acquaintance with several languages contributed to a great extent. The urbanity of his conversation and the elegance of his manners rendered him one of the most brilliant and striking men of his century. On his arrival at Madrid, he offered his Majesty eight pictures, which the King caused to be placed in the new saloon of the Palace, and besides accomplishing his mission, he employed the nine months of his stay at Madrid in painting the pictures of which Pacheco prepared the Catalogue,[1] and whose number is so great as to create astonishment at such fecundity.

[1] Pacheco writes on this subject in his *Arte de la pintura* as follows: 'During the nine months he stayed in Madrid, such were his skill and facility, that whilst carrying on the important negotiations in which he was engaged, and in spite of the gout which troubled him for several days, he painted numerous pictures, as we shall see directly. In the first place, he painted half-length portraits of the King, the Queen, and the Infantes, and took them to Flanders; he also painted five portraits of His Majesty, one of which was an equestrian portrait surrounded with figures, and of great brilliancy. He painted a half-length of the Infanta de las Descalzas, and also several replicas of this picture; he executed five or six portraits for private people, and copied all the paintings by Titian belonging to the King, namely "The Baths," "Europa," "Venus and Adonis," "Venus and Cupid," "Adam and Eve," etc. He painted the portraits of the Landgrave, the Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Alba, of Cobos and of a Doge of Venice, and several other pictures not in the Palace; he also copied the full-length portrait of Philip II. in armour, and made some modifications in his picture, the "Adoration of the Magi," which is in the Palace; he painted for Diego Megia, a great admirer of his talent, a "Conception" about 5 feet high, and for Don Jaime de Cardenas, brother of the Duke of Maqueda, a life-size "St. John the Evangelist." That a man so occupied could have had time to paint such a large number of pictures is little short of miraculous. He did not make friends with many artists, with the exception of my son-in-law (who was already his correspondent), whose modesty and talent he greatly praised, and with whom he went to visit the Escurial.'



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Philip charged Velazquez to entertain Rubens and show him everything at the Court that was worthy of his attention, and also to act as guide in the royal residences which contained so many art treasures.

What must have been the impression produced on the young Sevillian by the splendid appearance of Rubens, the most celebrated painter of the day, rendered even greater by his title of Ambassador! And what must have been his astonishment when studying closely the fecundity of this genius and the rapidity with which so many marvels were executed under his own eyes, and, it is said, in his own studio at the Palace! What pleasure he must have found in listening to the tales of this man who had travelled all over Europe, conversed with kings and princes, painted the portraits of so many people, and won that after which earthly desires and ambitions strive! Great indeed must have been the fascination exercised by Rubens, if we are to take into account the circumstances set forth at length by M. Lefort in his book on Velazquez. Those who do not confine themselves to the calm analysis of facts have deduced that this fascination betrayed itself henceforward by a marked influence of the Flemish painter on the Spanish artist. Nothing, however, is more incorrect; Velazquez was not blinded by this brilliancy; he understood that his temperament and artistic aptitudes were the exact opposite of those of Rubens, that his path had been directed from childhood to the constant and faithful study of nature, and that, unprovided as he was with great imaginative resources, he could not attempt the subjects so magnificently treated by Rubens, nor manipulate such a bold palette as that of the Flemish painter. Thus it is that this meeting, which might have been fatal to an artist still undetermined as to what line to follow, in that it might have led him to lay aside his own aptitudes in order to pursue others more brilliant, acted on Velazquez as a touchstone of the firmness of his convictions. In acting with this independence our painter undoubtedly obeyed an instinct which opened his eyes to the gulf separating him from Rubens, and when he compared his style and his creations with those of his great contemporary, he must have exclaimed: 'Follow thy road, continue to astound men by the surprising harmonies of thy wonderful colouring; I will not allow myself to be seduced by such magic conceptions: I will follow my own way, and express what I feel and what I desire: I will go as far as my life, my skill, and my perseverance will permit me.'

In the spring of 1629 Rubens left Madrid, and in the month of July of the same year Philip signed a decree by the terms of which, among



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other provisions, 100 ducats were allocated to Velazquez for the 'Bacchus,' for that was the name then given to the 'Borrachos' (see Plate XVII.). Nothing corroborates my recent assertion better than the study of this picture, in which appear more strikingly than in any other the characteristics of its author, so different from those of Rubens.

Never perhaps till now had Velazquez been more sincere: his sincerity might be compared with that of Van Eyck or Holbein were it not that the Spanish painter interpreted nature with more freedom and broadness, and that the boldness and brilliancy of his touch give a sculptural relief to the objects represented. What character, what expression in the faces of the 'Drinkers'! It cannot be surpassed. The novelty of the conception seizes hold of the mind of the beholder, who asks himself whether the artist really wished to paint a mythological scene, or if the selection of this bacchanal was but an excuse to reproduce on canvas, in a group full of movement, some of the commonest ruffians of the day. This strange composition represents Bacchus undraped, seated on a barrel and crowned with a wreath of vine leaves, crowning in his turn a vagabond who kneels respectfully to receive this investiture. Another rogue, seated on the left of Bacchus and laughing uproariously, with his eyes fixed on the spectator, seems to drink his health in a bowl full of wine. A third figure, of an equally forbidding appearance, rests both his hands on the other's shoulders. From his vacant stare it is easy to see that the wine has had more effect on him than on his companion. One of those present, who is kneeling, raises his glass as if in the act of drinking the health of Bacchus. Another, aged and deformed, whose head is reproduced with extraordinary realism, welcomes a person enveloped in a cloak who is taking off his hat to salute this choice assembly. On the right of Bacchus a Satyr, also nude and crowned with vine-leaves, lifts up a cup of classic form which contrasts strongly with the pan, pitcher, tankard, and coarse glass which compose the drinking utensils of the noisy revellers. In the foreground, and standing out in dark relief against the light, is another crowned and seated figure who seems to have been placed there only to serve as a foil for the principal figure, Bacchus.

Any one interested in types of criminal anthropology, or desirous of studying the distinctive characteristics of the ruffians, sharpers, and cut-purses of Spain in the seventeenth century, would be fully supplied by this picture, where the faces are so real as to be almost living. Although the scene is laid in the country, for so at least the sky, the mountains in the background, the arbour under which the Satyr is



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THE DRINKERS. "LOS BORRACHOS"
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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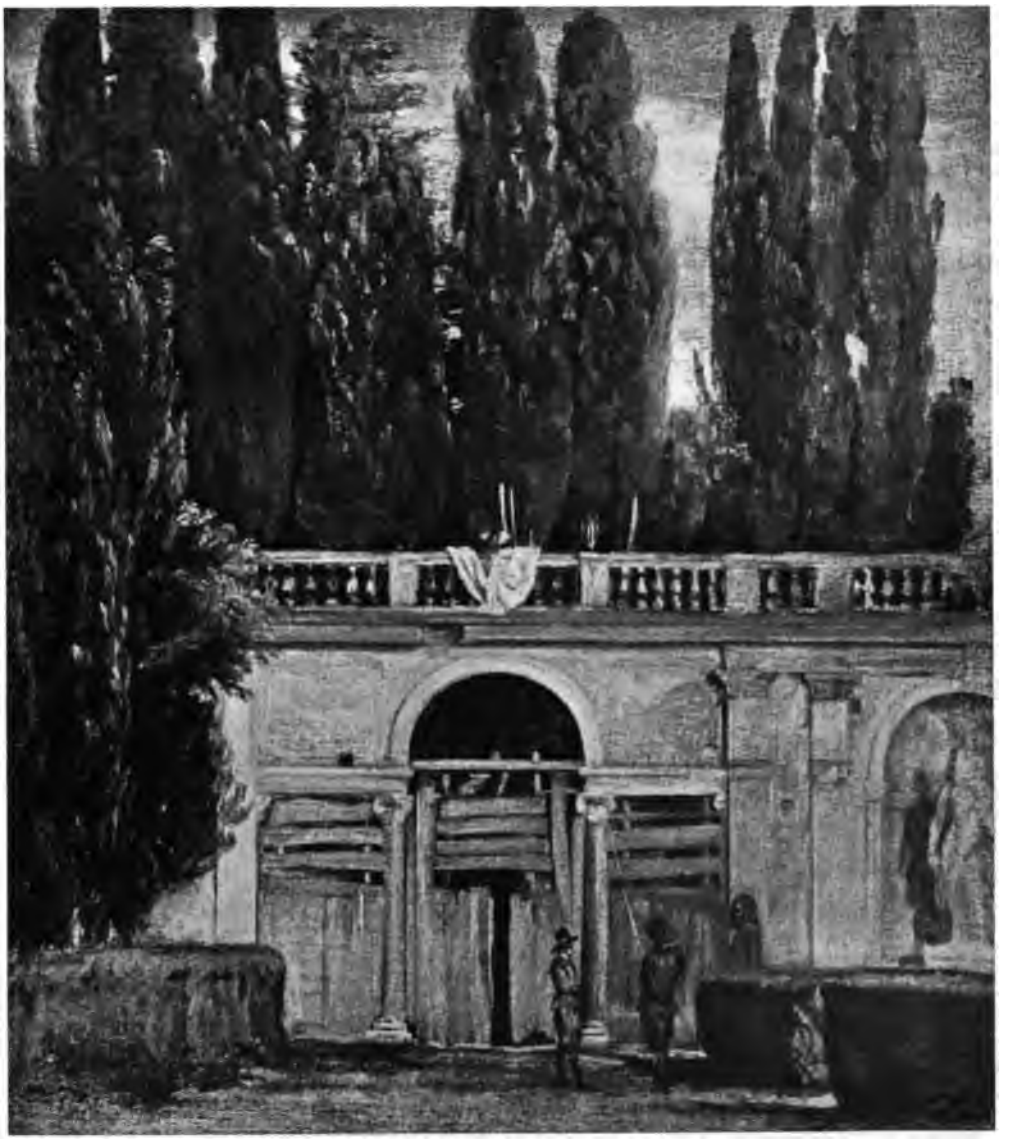

VIEW IN THE GARDENS OF THE VILLA MEDICI, ROME
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM



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reclining, and the ground itself would lead us to suppose, the light which illuminates these figures is not diffused like that of the open air. The artist evidently painted them in a closed studio, and used a lateral light striking from a height, as was the case with the 'Water-Carrier' and other pictures of his first manner, in order to obtain the great contrasts of light and shade which he reproduced.

If we examine this picture by a powerful concentrated light, we notice that in a number of places, especially round the figures and accessories, the reddish preparation of the canvas, analogous to that which the master usually employed at that time, has not been covered. The portrait of a man at Munich, as we have seen, also displays this peculiarity; a proof that, instead of blending the figures with their surroundings, Velazquez painted each part separately, endeavouring to follow the design drawn in light colour, or perhaps in chalk, on the dark preparation of the canvas.

The masterly execution of this picture is more striking than its originality or picturesqueness. In the different heads the relief rivals the expression and animation; the accessories produce the illusion of reality; the draperies, complicated and characteristic, are very skilfully carried out, and so irreproachable in indicating the anatomy that on examining them it seems possible to undo their folds. For the first time we find the nude represented in a work of Velazquez, and so skilfully is it treated that one might think the artist was a past master in that style of painting. His drawing, which was always faultless, even in his earliest works, and helps so largely to distinguish the genuine pictures from the false, is admirable, and constitutes one of the principal merits of the 'Borrachos.'

It is quite right to consider this picture the masterpiece of the first manner of Velazquez, and it is with this picture that the cycle which began with the 'Adoration of the Magi' and the 'Water-Carrier' ends.

Although the 'Borrachos' is the most important work of the artist in this manner, it is still a little dry and harsh; the shadows are not sufficiently transparent; the general tone is too dark; and the heads and hands are for the most part too swarthy, although this defect is less noticeable than in the pictures painted at Seville. The contours also are too sharp, and do not blend with their surroundings from lack of atmosphere; but, in spite of all these imperfections, which we shall see gradually disappear in the course of the evolution of the master, this picture is one of the most important works of Velazquez. No other is superior to it in feeling, sincerity, or conscientiousness.



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The qualities which are seen in embryo in the earlier pictures attain their full development in this canvas, so that if Velazquez had died before producing any other works, the 'Borrachos' alone would suffice to assign him the first place among the Spanish painters of the seventeenth century. No realistic painter had ever attained so high a standard.

If we wish to compare this work with a picture renowned throughout Europe at that time, we could not do better than contrast it with the 'Lesson in Anatomy' painted by Rembrandt in 1632, at the age of twenty-six. The 'Borrachos' was executed in 1629, and Velazquez was thirty years old when he painted it. Although the subject and the condition of the persons represented are entirely different, there exists more than one point of resemblance between these two works. There are nine figures in each of them, and the central point of interest is in each case a portion of undraped flesh which is placed more in the light than the rest of the picture and principally attracts the attention of the beholder; the lighting too is almost the same. It is needless to say that these two pictures aim at the most absolute realism, and that their tendencies are alike. If from this comparative examination we pass to the study of their artistic merits, we are obliged to acknowledge that there is not so much life and power in the 'Lesson in Anatomy' as in the 'Borrachos'; that the types of the former, with the exception of the splendid figure of Doctor Tulp, have less vigour and relief, and finally that the execution is not so bold. In short, the accentuation and skilful touch of the 'Borrachos' are lacking. As for the nude figure in Rembrandt's picture, even though it must be taken into consideration that it is a corpse, we may say with Fromentin, that it is 'swollen, badly constructed, and lacks careful study.' In presence of the powerful frame of the Bacchus of Velazquez, of the relief of his form and the brilliancy of his colour, it must be admitted that *his* is the lesson in anatomy.

What a contrast the gaol-birds of the 'Borrachos' must have supplied in the formal Palace of Philip IV. with the Bacchanals of Titian, or with Rubens's boldly coloured mythological scenes! We know that the picture was judged worthy of being received and paid for apart from the others, and that over and above the 100 ducats which were given to Velazquez, the King granted him the so ardently desired authorisation to undertake his first journey to Italy.

The 'Borrachos' remained in the Alcazar at Madrid until the burning of that building; it then was removed to the Armoury, and later to the Retiro Palace. When the Prado Museum was formed at the begin-



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ning of last century the picture was placed there, and is now catalogued No. 1058.

It was largely due to the instigation of Rubens that Velazquez conceived the desire of undertaking a journey to Italy, for, in spite of the difference in their styles and tendencies, the two painters were united by friendship, and Rubens, impelled by the noble and disinterested affection which he had for his young companion, advised him to try by all possible means to go to Italy, where his exceptional artistic faculties would certainly perfect themselves. It is even probable that he went so far as to influence the King in this direction, for on the 22nd of July, 1629, he ordered that, in addition to 100 silver ducats, the price of the 'Borrachos,' Velazquez should receive 300 ducats on account of other pictures. The Count-Duke of Olivares, more liberal than his master, presented the artist with 200 gold ducats and a rich medallion with the likeness of the King, furnishing him as well with numerous letters of introduction for his journey. Velazquez embarked at Barcelona on the 10th of August 1629.



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# CHAPTER III

Velazquez's sojourn in Venice—Departure for Rome—Landscape studies at the Villa Medici—'The Forge of Vulcan' and 'Joseph's Coat'—The Progress of the Artist as the result of his journey to Italy—'Portrait of Velazquez' in the Capitoline Museum—Velazquez goes to Naples to paint the portrait of Queen Maria of Hungary—His meeting with Ribera—Return to Madrid at the beginning of the year 1631.

VELAZQUEZ set sail at the same time as the victor of Breda, Don Ambrosio Spinola, who, followed by illustrious warriors and invested with full powers, was going to take over the command of the army.

They parted at Milan, never to meet again; but those few days spent together were not without profit for the artist, who, no doubt, recalled to mind the features of Spinola when later on he had to reproduce them in his famous picture of 'The Lances.'

Our painter then pursued his journey to Venice, where he presented the letters of introduction to the Republic with which Juan de Villela, secretary of the Council of State, had supplied him by order of the Count-Duke of Olivares. While there he received the hospitality of the Spanish Ambassador, Don Cristobal de Benavente. During his stay in Venice he does not seem to have produced any other works than the copies of the 'Crucifixion' and the 'Last Supper,' two celebrated pictures by Tintoretto, who, with Titian, was the painter most preferred by Velazquez of all the brilliant Venetian school. The sketch of the 'Last Supper' figured in the inventory of the Alcazar Palace up till 1734, the year in which it doubtless perished in the burning of that building. Nothing is known of the 'Crucifixion' except what Palomino tells us. It is to be regretted that there is no specimen in existence of the way in which Velazquez interpreted the Venetians.

From Venice he went to Ferrara, where he was royally entertained by Cardinal Sacchetti, formerly Nuncio at Madrid, to whom he had been recommended; he then went to Rome in 1630, in the seventh year of the pontificate of Urban VIII. The artist received a cordial welcome from the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Barberini, who did him the



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VIEW IN THE GARDENS OF THE VILLA MEDICI, ROME

MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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THE FORGE OF VULCAN
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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honour of offering him the hospitality of the Vatican. But Velazquez preferred a quieter lodging, and begged Count Monterey to obtain from the Duke of Tuscany permission to occupy the Villa Medici, the property of that prince.

It was during his stay at the Villa Medici that he made the two studies which are in the Prado Museum (Nos. 1106 and 1107). These pictures (see Plates XVIII. and XIX.), which are very interesting, in spite of their apparent insignificance, give us an idea of the manner in which Velazquez henceforward treated landscape, having hitherto regarded it conventionally, like a disciple respectful of tradition, as we have already noted when discussing the pictures painted at Seville. These works are views of the gardens with buildings in the Renaissance style, and some figures sketched in which give life to the scene. The predominating tones are silvery greys and dark and delicate greens, which harmonise most charmingly. The execution is free, but firm and sure, and relief is given in a masterly manner by a few decisive touches. Of the two studies, I prefer the one where some large cypresses stand out boldly above a terrace, and M. Émile Michel is of the same opinion; in his study of Velazquez he praises the merits of this little masterpiece, and gives an enthusiastic and brilliant account of it.

The study of these strengthens us in the belief that the seven other landscapes[1] attributed to Velazquez, in the catalogue of the Prado Museum, are only imitations of his manner. I am not the first to express this opinion,[2] in support of which many arguments may be adduced. In the first place, it is very evident that these landscapes are browner and darker than those painted at that time by Velazquez, and the numerous landscape backgrounds of his pictures; the precise and faultless drawing of the artist is here more vague and indistinct, the architecture and the trees are treated in an entirely different manner, the shape of the clouds, so characteristic in Velazquez's work, is different, and the figures have neither propriety nor harmony, nor the grace of those of the same size which form part of the 'View of Saragossa' and the 'Boar Hunt.' The author is undoubtedly Juan Bautista del

[1] These landscapes (Nos. 1108-1114 in the catalogue) are the following:—'The Arch of Titus at Rome,' 'The Fountain of the Tritons in the Garden of the Island at Aranjuez,' 'The Queen's Alley at Aranjuez,' 'A View of the Buen Retiro,' 'A View taken in a Royal Demesne,' and two studies of landscape and perspective.

[2] I allude to the eminent critic, Don Ceferino Araujo Sanchez, the author of such works as *The Museums of Spain*, *Goya*, etc., and of a number of articles published in reviews and newspapers. This profound connoisseur of Spanish art, in an article in *El Dia* (Madrid, June 19, 1887) places the seven landscapes among the pictures in the Prado Museum which are falsely attributed to Velazquez.



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Mazo, commonly known as Mazo, son-in-law and pupil of Velazquez. I shall refer to Mazo frequently, as many of his pictures have passed, and still pass, as authentic works of Velazquez.

These seven landscapes, notably the 'Fountain of the Tritons' and the 'Queen's Alley at Aranjuez,' are none the less worthy of praise, although they do not deserve the eulogies which have been bestowed on them, and which they owe in great measure to the great name they bear. Some have compared them with the landscapes of Corot, a comparison which would be more justifiable if applied to the two studies of the Villa Medici. These studies, by their general tone and a certain poetical simplicity, call to mind a number of pictures by the great modern landscape painter.

Fevers contracted at the Villa Medici obliged Velazquez to seek a domicile in the interior of Rome, and he went to stay there with the Count of Monterey, a relation of the Count-Duke of Olivares. It has been presumed that at this time he had made studies from the antique, and copies of the works of Michelangelo and Raphael. That he admired and studied these masters there can be no doubt, but it does not follow that he devoted his leisure hours to making copies of them; he lacked the time and repose of mind necessary for this kind of work. In any case, if any such copies were made, there are none now in existence. The few months which the artist passed in Rome were not without result; he employed them in painting the two pictures which he offered to the King on his return to Madrid: 'The Forge of Vulcan' (No. 1059), in the Prado Museum, and 'Joseph's Coat,' which is in the Escurial. The mythological scene which supplied Velazquez with the inspiration for the 'Borrachos' was rendered by him in an original and realistic manner, which differentiates this 'bacchanal' sharply from all other similar scenes. 'The Forge of Vulcan' (see Plate XX.) might be its counterpart from the point of view of the novelty of its conception. With the exception of the figure of Apollo, nothing in this composition recalls the mythological types which had been, and still were, in vogue. The painter, in grouping these superb half nude figures, evidently aimed at painting a beautiful composition; he also wished to demonstrate clearly his knowledge of, and familiarity with, anatomy. And it was natural that, being at Rome, and surrounded by classic masterpieces of this kind, he should have made the attempt there.

Apollo, who is represented as a youth crowned with laurels, and whose head is surrounded by a luminous aureole, is relating to Vulcan the story of the infidelities of Venus with Mars; such is the subject of



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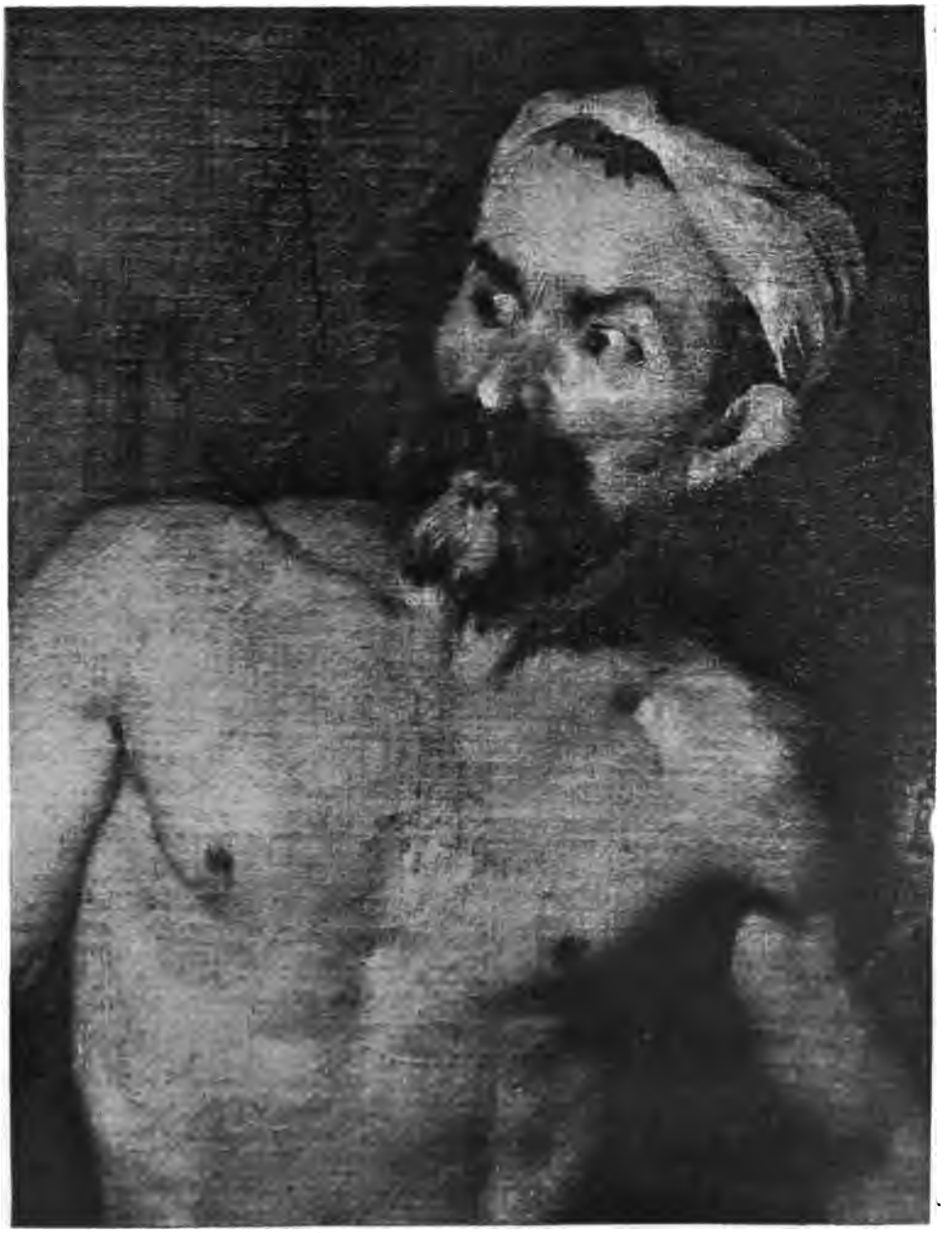

VULCAN
DETAIL FROM 'THE FORGE OF VULCAN'

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JOSEPH'S COAT
MADRID, ESCURIAL

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the picture. Vulcan, aided by his Cyclops, is engaged in forging a mass of iron on an anvil, and listens full of surprise to Apollo's tale; this surprise is shared by all those who are working in the forge. The blacksmith god and his four helpers are almost nude, a morsel of stuff passed round their loins serves for clothing. The background is in perfect harmony with the simplicity of the actors in this scene.

Velazquez has admirably solved the difficult problem of successfully treating a work where the nude is the principal feature; indeed, the skill in rendering the figures, the delicacy and nobility of the drawing, the classic simplicity befitting the subject and the composition, the felicity with which the interest aroused by Apollo's story and the attention of the listeners have been caught, place this picture on a level with the most important works of the artist.

The light which bathes the scene is more diffused than that which illuminates the preceding pictures of the master, the general touch is greyer; in fact, if we compare it with the 'Borrachos' there is more atmosphere, more freedom in the figures, and more transparency in the shadows. The background and the accessories, such as hammers, anvils, tongs, armour, in short, all the details are rendered with equal fidelity and with less dryness and hardness than in the earlier works. The composition and arrangement demonstrate the progress made by the artist under the beneficent influence of his journey to Italy.

On a close examination of the 'Forge,' I find that the figure of Vulcan has been repainted by the artist, doubtless towards the end of his life, for there are in the head (see Plate XXI.), and also in the body, a boldness, a freshness of touch, and a happiness of execution at which he only arrived in his latest works. There is no need for surprise at these retouchings; as painter to the King at first, and later as Grand Marshal of the Palace, he had every freedom in dealing with the pictures entrusted to his care, even in the Palace of Philip IV.

It is impossible to say whether 'Joseph's Coat' (see Plate XXII.), also executed at Rome, was painted before or after the 'Forge of Vulcan.' It represents the sons of Jacob showing him their brother's blood-stained coat. The Patriarch, clothed in a blue tunic and brown cloak, is seated on a dais covered with a rich carpet, and stretches out his arms in horror at the sight of the blood. A little dog barks at the unknown visitors, three in number, two of whom, almost nude, and vigorously illuminated from the right, are particularly interesting. In the background another group of figures, vaguely outlined and plunged



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in shadow, contrasts with the group in the foreground. Between the columns and the wall of the room are two large openings, and through these can be discerned a low-lying landscape with a vast expanse of sky, against which the busts of the several figures composing the picture stand out. The black and white pavement, with its perspective carefully worked out, is the only piece of this kind in the whole work of the master.

Some of the models for the 'Forge' figure in this picture. They number six in both cases, their dimensions and the draperies which half clothe them are so like that one might believe them transferred from one picture to another. In spite of this resemblance, it is the 'Forge' which deserves the higher place.

As the result of an examination of these two canvases, we shall find that the artistic atmosphere in which Velazquez moved while in Italy has contributed to enlarge his horizon, and to give more delicacy to his colouring and more freedom to his composition. But there is no real reason to attribute this progress to such an influence alone. Was it the influence of Tintoretto, as a number of the biographers of Velazquez affirm, according to whom it began to be exercised from the time when he made the copies at Venice? In the first place, however, the colouring of the two masters is different; the Spaniard limits himself to a quiet harmony of grey tones entirely different from the sumptuous colouring of the Venetian. And, in the second place, Velazquez never attempted the process of painting in an egg medium with glazes of oil pigments, a method dear to the masters of the Venetian school, and thanks to which they obtained such brilliant and warm tones. This method, which is perfectly well known nowadays, must have been even more in vogue at the time of which we are writing. Velazquez, on the contrary, kept all through his life to oil paint, more or less thickly laid, in accordance with the principles with which he had been inculcated at Seville.

Other critics, among whom is Sir Walter Armstrong, urge that Velazquez, while painting the two great works which he executed during his stay in Rome, was influenced by the pictures of Guido and Poussin, who were then living there. Apart from the preponderance of the nude, it is difficult to say what resemblance there can be between the pictures of Poussin and 'The Forge of Vulcan' and 'Joseph's Coat.' There is perhaps more similarity between these canvases and certain works of Guido and his school, although the innate sincerity and simplicity of Velazquez are radically opposed to



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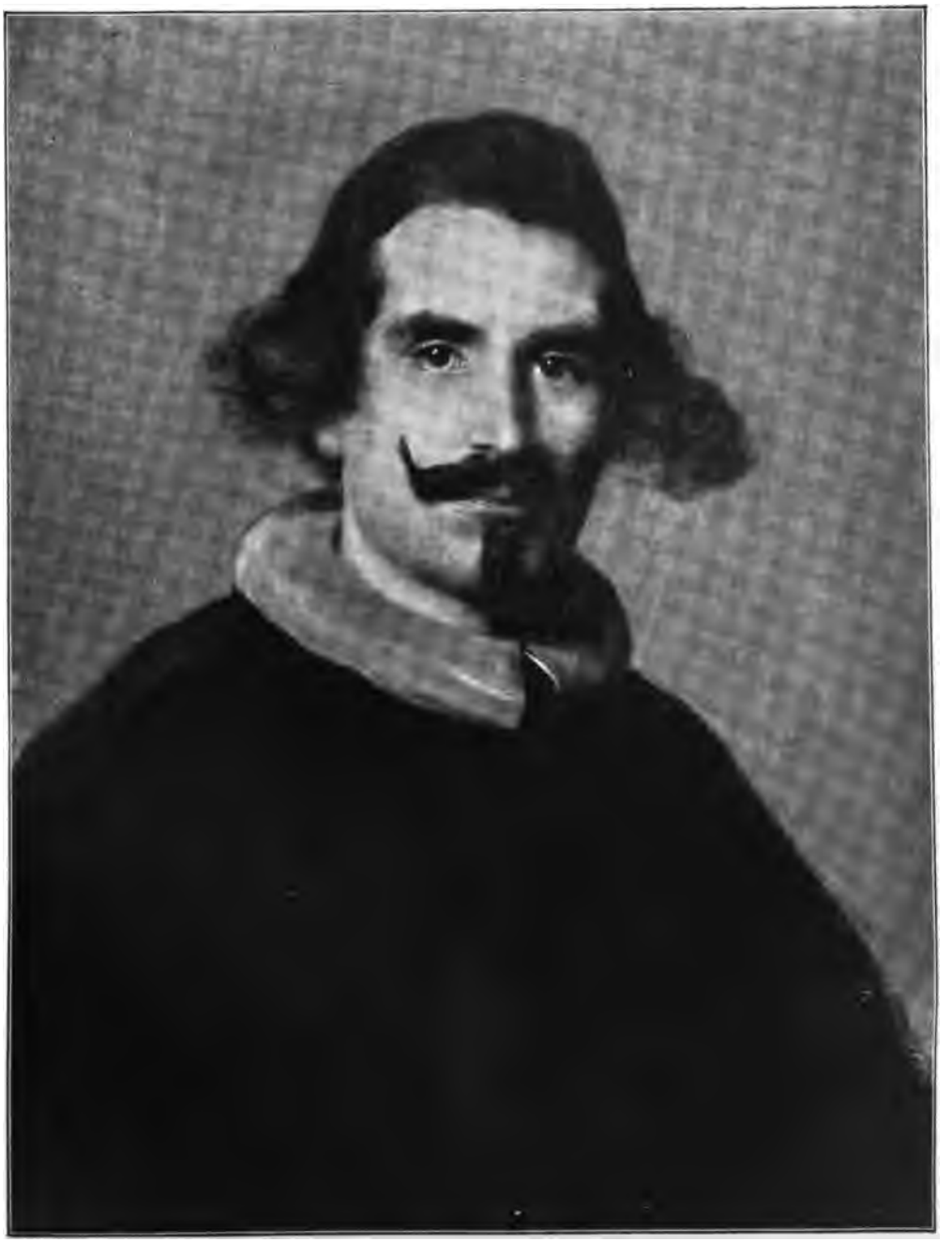

PORTRAIT OF VELAZQUEZ
ROME, CAPITOLINE MUSEUM

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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA MARIA, QUEEN OF HUNGARY
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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the mannerism of the Bolognese painter. All these comparisons, therefore, are quite superficial.

In agreement with de Wyzewa[1] I believe that Velazquez 'learnt from the Italians all that he could, without in any way losing any of his own characteristics: the art of uniting all the elements of a picture, and also the art of combining tones to obtain clearly defined effects.'

To the number of works carried out by Velazquez at Rome must be added his own portrait which was destined for Pacheco, and which, according to him, 'is the admiration of all connoisseurs and a monument of art.' Is this work the charming bust portrait which is now in the Capitoline Museum? This authentic portrait (see Plate XXIII.) is a little less than life size; it seems to have been painted straight off with the exception of here and there a few retouches put on dry. Velazquez is dressed in black, and wears a collarette; his complexion is a pale brown, his hair is long and plentiful. From the depth and vivacity of his look it is easy to see that the artist used a mirror to paint himself. The face, which is very Spanish, is full of expression and sympathy. From a technical point of view it is one of the best works of Velazquez, although it has turned nearly black under the influence of the varnish. Judging only from the apparent age of the master in the portrait the picture would seem to have been painted in 1630; such an hypothesis is, however, inadmissible, the execution being evidently of a later date. Indeed the freer and lighter work and grey silvery tone prove that it was painted six or seven years later, in 1637 or 1638, that is to say, just before Velazquez reached the age of forty, and this is the maximum age which can be allowed to the person represented. If we put aside, however, the supposition that this is the portrait of which Pacheco speaks, it must be acknowledged that all trace has been lost of that picture.

Just as he was preparing to return to Spain, Velazquez received orders from Philip IV. to go to Naples and paint the portrait of the King's sister, the Infanta Maria, who had just married by proxy Ferdinand, King of Hungary, afterwards the Emperor Ferdinand III. The new queen, who was going to join her husband, was obliged to make a détour in order to avoid the epidemic of plague which infested the North of Italy, and to go by Naples, whither Velazquez went to fulfil the mission with which the King had entrusted him. The princess was celebrated for her beauty, and it was on her account that the Prince of Wales undertook his romantic journey to Madrid.

[1] *Les Grands Peintres de l'Espagne et de l'Angleterre.* By T. de Wyzewa. Paris, 1891. P. 56.



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It is probable that in view of the short stay of Doña Maria at Naples, Velazquez had only time to execute the bust portrait (see Plate XXIV.) now in the Prado Museum (No. 1072). The beauty of her complexion is enhanced by her fair and curly hair; her features are clear cut, and present the characteristics peculiar to the princes of the house of Austria. The Infanta is wearing a voluminous ruffle of starched gauze, and a grey and greenish dress. The drawing is careful, and if there is a certain dryness in the modelling of the eyes, nose, and mouth, the hair on the other hand presents a pleasing bit of delicate execution and charming colour.

The life-size full-length portrait of the same princess in the Berlin Gallery (No. 418c.), which came from the Royal Palace at Madrid, and once formed part of the Suermondt collection, is, without doubt, in spite of its place of origin, and its history, an old copy, mild and without vigour, and not a very good one, of an original by the master which has been lost, and which was doubtless an enlargement of the bust portrait at Madrid, for that likeness and the one at Berlin are identical.

Naples was at that time the place of residence of another Spanish painter, José Ribera, with whom Velazquez no doubt became acquainted, though Pacheco does not mention the fact. There were so many qualities common to both these geniuses that from the very first a current of good understanding and sympathy must have been established between them. Neither was any fear of rivalry possible, for while Velazquez was on the point of returning to Spain, Ribera, who had arrived at the summit of his glory in Italy, preferred to remain there, and died in his adopted country in 1656, covered with honours and riches. It was the fervent admiration which Velazquez assuredly had for Ribera which led to the purchase by Philip IV. of a large number of pictures by 'lo Spagnoletto,' destined for the Escurial and the Palace at Madrid. Several of these canvases have disappeared, but those which remain, both at the Escurial and in the Prado Museum, amply suffice to give an accurate idea of this extraordinary painter.

Having finished his mission at Naples, Velazquez set sail for Spain. He must have arrived there in the early part of the year 1631, for it is from that time that he began to draw his salary in his capacity of an official of the Palace.



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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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# CHAPTER IV

Return of Velazquez to Madrid—Full-length 'Portrait of Philip IV.' in the National Gallery—'Portrait of the King' and of his first wife 'Isabella of Bourbon' in the Vienna Museum—'Portrait supposed to represent the wife of Velazquez' in the Prado Museum—Portraits of 'Don Diego del Corral y Arellano' and of 'Juan Mateos,' His Majesty's Arquebus-bearer—Religious pictures of this period—'Christ at the Column' and 'Christ on the Cross'—Account of El Greco—The influence of this painter on Velazquez—Supposed 'Portrait of the Count of Benavente'—'Portrait of the Duke of Modena'—'Portrait of an unknown person' at Apsley House—The picture of 'The Lances' or the 'Surrender of Breda.'

VELAZQUEZ was away for a period of seventeen or eighteen months. It is related that his first act on his return was to thank the King for having kept his promise of not allowing any other painter to paint his portrait, an engagement which Philip faithfully kept with the single exception in favour of Rubens.

The eighteen years which passed between the return of Velazquez to Madrid in 1631 and his second journey to Italy, were the most prolific of his artistic career; but it is impossible, owing to lack of exact information, to establish the chronological order of his productions.

It is probable that on his arrival in Madrid, Velazquez hastened to paint the new portrait of the King, perhaps the one now in the National Gallery (see Plate XXV.) (No. 1129), which formerly belonged to the Duke of Hamilton. As a matter of fact the King in 1631 was twenty-six years old, the age which he appears to be in this portrait. Philip IV. is represented standing, dressed in a rich costume of brown embroidered with silver, and a dark cloak; he wears white stockings and brown gloves. In his right hand is a paper on which the following words are written in the artist's handwriting: 'Señor Diego Velazquez, Pintor de Vuestra Majestad,' which is, according to Spanish usage, the beginning of a petition which was addressed to the King by the painter. His left hand rests on the hilt of his sword. On a table to the right is a felt hat with feathers. The pale and refined face which



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recalls by its colouring, modelling, and execution that of the portrait of Queen Maria of Hungary, the King's sister, stands out from the curtain which forms the background.

The first impression produced by this picture is not very favourable, on account of a certain hardness and dryness with which the ornaments of the costume are treated. It is this fact which causes some of the critics, among the few who have noticed this work, to attribute it, as does Sir Walter Armstrong, to Mazo. It appears to him a repetition by Mazo which has been worked on by the master. It is, however, sufficient to study this portrait closely to refute this supposition, and to become certain that there is not a brush mark in it from any other hand than that of Velazquez. The head is painted with great delicacy and faultless drawing, while the hands are rendered with unequalled skill; and although the draperies and silver ornaments do not harmonise with the dress, their rendering is a guarantee of the authenticity of the work. There is in it, besides, much distinction and grace in the pose, sufficient alone to prove its genuineness.

It is also to this period that two half-length portraits of the King and his first wife Isabella of Bourbon (see Plates XXVI. and XXVII.) belong (Nos. 612 and 622 in the Vienna Museum) to which reference is made in a note dated 1632.[1] Although authentic, these works are not interesting; it must be presumed that they are copies made by the artist of other portraits painted from the life. Of the two portraits, that of the Queen is by far the better, and the only authentic one of her by Velazquez, with the exception of that grand portrait of the Queen on horseback in the Prado Museum, painted by Bartolomé Gonzalez and retouched by Velazquez, of which I will afterwards speak. The Queen's ornaments in this portrait are painted with a little of that harshness which I remarked in the case of the King's portrait in the National Gallery, and produce the same impression.

It is to be presumed that it was also about this time that Velazquez painted the bust 'Portrait in Profile' which passes for that of his wife Juana Pacheco (see Plate XXVIII.) (No. 1086 in the Prado Museum). She must at that time have been about thirty years old, and that seems to be the age of the model; but it is far from being proved that it is her portrait. It is a life-size figure with a brown complexion and with plentiful black hair held by a broad green ribbon which serves

[1] This note, copied from the archives of the Palace and published in the already-mentioned book by Cruzada Villaamil, states that Velazquez received a sum equivalent to £11 of our money for the packing of these pictures and other expenses incurred in their transport to Germany.



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PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ISABELLA OF BOURBON
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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REPUTED PORTRAIT OF DOÑA JUANA PACHECO

MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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as an ornament. With her left hand she is holding a kind of panel, an arrangement which led to the name of the 'Sibyl' being formerly given to this picture. It is not one of the best works of this period, but the whole effect is pleasing, and the modelling and drawing show the unerring hand of Velazquez.

Is this picture a portrait of his wife? There is nothing in favour of this hypothesis except the supposed resemblance between this face and one in the 'Familia de Mazo,' in the style of Velazquez, at the Vienna Gallery. In my opinion the supposition has no foundation whatever.

On the canvas of a 'Portrait of a Woman' in the Berlin Gallery (No. 418 E.) is written the name of Juana de Miranda, which is the same as that by which the daughter of Pacheco, wife of Velazquez, is designated on the marriage certificate and on the certificate of baptism of her eldest daughter.[1] This portrait came successively from two Spanish collections, that of Sebastian Martinez and that of Salamanca, and then belonged to Lord Dudley, from whom it was purchased for the Berlin Gallery. I consider that it is an old and well executed copy made by an imitator of the master, probably Mazo, rather than an original work of Velazquez; for though there is evidence of skill in the dress and accessories, the principal parts, such as the head and hands, are weaker; the hands especially being treated with a weakness and a poverty which are never to be found in genuine pictures by Velazquez; there is also a want of care shown in the drawing of the nose.

I can contradict with still more certainty the attribution to Velazquez of the two pictures (Nos. 1087 and 1088 in the Prado Museum) which, it is said, represent the painter's daughters. There is no question even of their being good or faithful copies; they are simply old imitations, certainly pleasing ones, of the manner of Velazquez. Neither is there any real reason for believing that they are portraits of the artist's daughters. This idea is derived from a conjecture of Thoré, which is given in the catalogue of the Prado Museum, and is the ground for this assertion.

A portrait which belonged to the Narros family, and which in terms of the will of the late Duchess of Vallahermosa, has now passed

[1] Although in reality Velazquez's wife was called Juana Pacheco since that was her father's name, and although she appears under this name in the baptismal certificate of her second daughter, she is designated in her marriage act and in the baptismal certificate of her eldest daughter by the name of Juana de Miranda.



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to the Prado Museum in Madrid, must be included in the number of portraits carried out at this time. It is the 'Portrait of Don Diego del Corral y Arellano' (see Plate XXIX.) a high functionary and eminent lawyer, who rendered good services to the State in the reigns of Philip III. and Philip IV. He died on May 20th 1632, and it is clear that this portrait must have been painted in the time which elapsed between Velazquez's return from Italy in 1631 and that date. This personage, dressed in black, stands in front of a table covered with crimson velvet, and his austere figure stands out from a plain grey background. There is a great deal of vigour in the treatment of the head. In his hands he holds official papers symbolical of his office of councillor. Everything in this work reveals the hand of Velazquez, and it may be classed among the best productions of this period, although I am doubtful if it has ever been mentioned previous to the first edition of this book, by any of the biographers or critics of the master, with the exception of Curtis, who, by some error, says that it is a portrait of a son of Don Cristobal del Corral.

The portrait belonging to the Royal Dresden Gallery (No. 697) of the first arquebus-bearer (ballestero) of Philip IV., 'Juan Mateos,' (see Plate XXX.) shows by the skill with which it is painted that it is of later date. There is no doubt as to the identity of the model, thanks to the resemblance which exists between this portrait and the one engraved as a frontispiece to the *Treatise on the Origin and Dignity of the Chase* by Mateos, printed in 1634.

Mateos, seen at half length, is clothed in black; his hair is grey and short; he wears the moustache and pointed beard of the time. The head, painted with energetic precision, is full of character; the pale face displays surprising modelling and extraordinary relief, and the severe and penetrating gaze is fixed on the beholder. The hands are only indicated in grey, through which may be seen the reddish-grey preparation of the canvas.

Justi, while describing this picture, which he praises as it deserves, deals also with another portrait in the Prado Museum (No. 1105). It is supposed to be that of Alonso Martinez del Espinar, whose duty at the palace was to carry the King's arquebus and who composed a treatise on the 'Art of Venery.' In entire accordance with the opinion of this eminent critic, who notes the absence from this picture of all the traits characteristic of the style of Velazquez, I place this work among those whose authenticity is obviously doubtful.

During the eighteen years between his two journeys to Italy,



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PORTRAIT OF DON DIEGO DEL CORRAL Y ARELLANO
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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PORTRAIT OF JUAN MATEOS
DRESDEN, ROYAL GALLERY

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## 'CHRIST AT THE COLUMN'

Velazquez painted only two religious pictures. One of them, 'Christ at the Column,' is in London; the other, 'Christ on the Cross,' belongs to the Prado Museum. No biographer made mention of the 'Christ at the Column' (see Plate XXXI.) up to the time of its sale at Madrid in 1862 or 1863. In 1883 its owner, Sir John Savile, afterwards Lord Savile, presented it to the National Gallery. It represents the Saviour reclining on the ground with his arms bound and attached to a column. The beauty of the muscularity, too robust perhaps for a body racked with pain, shows in its composition, as in those which Velazquez painted at Rome, a respect for classic tradition. The Saviour turns his head and looks with an affectionate air at a child, who, on his knees and with his hands joined together, gazes on the sad spectacle, which an angel behind is showing him, thus gently expressing the compassion he feels for the Divine Martyr. The idea of awakening pity in a child is rendered with great simplicity and originality. The figures are life size. The style is grand, and already there appear in the colouring the refined and delicate tones characteristic of this period. The background is grey, without accessories; in the foreground are some instruments of torture.

Mr. Stevenson, in his work on Velazquez[1] suggests that this work was executed in 1639. I am unable to read any date on the picture, but the true date is supplied by the appearance of the painting. It is impossible to admit that a work which so resembles those executed in Rome in 1630 could be of a much later date. On the other hand Mr. Stevenson believes that the model which the artist used for the angel is the same as the one who posed for the Apollo in the 'Forge of Vulcan,' an entirely gratuitous hypothesis, since it is evident that the model for the Apollo was a man, while that for the angel was a woman. In my opinion the angel resembles more the supposed Juana Pacheco of the Prado Museum, and I firmly believe that the same model posed for both figures.

The 'Christ on the Cross' (see Plate XXXII.) (No. 1055 in the Prado Museum) was painted in 1638 or 1639, that is to say, six or seven years later. A scandalous story is attached to this picture, according to which the protonotary of Aragon and the Count-Duke of Olivares himself having played on the King's behalf the far from honourable rôle of go-between, the King, in expiation, commanded Velazquez to

[1] *The Art of Velazquez*, by R. A. M. Stevenson. London, 1895. This work has been again published in 1899 in a different style and with several additions in the Series entitled *Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture*, edited by Dr. G. C. Williamson.



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paint the picture, in order to give it to the Convent of San Placido in Madrid. However this may be, this work remained there until the beginning of last century.

Few of the master's pictures have been subject to so many criticisms; few pictures are more surprising. The critics have burst forth into eloquent and even hyperbolical effusions on this work. It is indeed difficult to get away from the profound impression which this powerful and dramatic picture produces. Not that one is moved by the realism of this image of death; the model employed by Velazquez was no doubt a living one, although his frame is not so robust as that of the 'Christ at the Column.' But what impresses us here is the austere and classic outline of the crucified Christ standing out from a very dark background of greenish tints, which is full of atmosphere in spite of its darkness; it is the harmony of the limbs, wonderfully modelled in clear colours, without any violent contrast; the colour of the flesh as free from the purple colour of death as it is from the roseate hue of life; the incomparable refinement, the elegance of the arms, legs, and hands, which are neither limp nor rigid; it is the sobriety with which the flow of the blood, corresponding with profound knowledge to the nature of the wounds, here and there stains the body; and, finally, it is the striking disposition of the face, half disclosed, half covered by his hair. It is a picture which, once seen, can never be forgotten. It is not perhaps a very typical effigy of the Christ on the Cross; Tristan, Montañes, and many others, in the numerous paintings and sculptures which this subject inspired in them, represent more accurately than did Velazquez, the religious sentiment which animated Spain in the seventeenth century; but the more austere, more classic, in short, more universal character of the Christ on the Cross, places this work above all others of the kind which had up to that time been painted or sculptured in Spain, and all that have been created since.

During this period of the life of Velazquez, there happened an event worthy of notice in regard to the personality and independent spirit of the master. It is the unquestionable influence which the works of El Greco then exercised upon him. He doubtless saw and studied them at Toledo, where there are to-day about sixty, and where at that epoch nearly all his works must have been collected. Velazquez, who had avoided the influence of Rubens, and escaped the seductions of the Venetians, doubtless found in El Greco something superior, which he tried to assimilate. It is not the first time that this view has



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CHRIST AT THE COLUMN
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

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CHRIST ON THE CROSS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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been brought forward,[1] the consequences of which ought not to be exaggerated as those people do who maintain that the day will come perhaps when Velazquez will pass as a pupil of El Greco.

Domenico Theotocopuli, surnamed El Greco, was born in the island of Crete between 1540 and 1550. In 1575 he went to Toledo to paint the altar-screens in the Convent of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, in the church of which he was buried on April 7th, 1614, as the register of the Parish Church of Santo Tomé at Toledo attests. It cannot be denied that he acquired his first celebrity as the pupil of the great Venetian painters; to be satisfied of this it is only necessary to examine one of the works of his youth, the 'Healing of the Man Born Blind,' in the Parma Museum, and other works of the same epoch to be seen in different galleries, which are attributed to Barocci, the Bassanos, and even to Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto. Until only a few years ago, El Greco was unknown outside of Spain. At the present day his name is familiar amongst painters and critics, thanks to the numerous works published about this singular artist, who is considered as the forerunner of modern art; and even more to the paintings and portraits painted by him, which have from time to time been discovered in important museums of Europe and America. His chief work at Santo Domingo el Antiguo, 'The Assumption of the Virgin,' once in the collection of the Infante Don Sebastian of Bourbon, won him so much fame in Toledo, that in 1577 the Chapter of the Cathedral commissioned him to paint another picture of large dimensions, the subject of which was 'Christ Despoiled of His Vestments on Calvary,' and which is still in the sacristy of the Cathedral for which it was executed. These two pictures and the 'Burial of the Count of Orgaz' in the church of Santo Tomé are the principal works of El Greco, who is also represented at Toledo, Madrid, and other towns of Spain, by about a hundred paintings, the majority of which deal with religious subjects, while there are a few incomparable portraits.

El Greco is one of the most original and suggestive of painters. His religious pictures sometimes border on the sublime; I do not wish for any better proof of this than the inspired head of the Saviour in the 'Christ Despoiled of His Vestments' at Toledo. His Christs, his saints, and his ascetics, are imbued with a peculiar mysticism. Rather than human beings, they have often the air of spectres of exaggerated

[1] It has found favour from the time of Palomino, who suggested in his biography of Velazquez that he imitated Domenico Greco in his portraiture, up till the present day, when the majority of those who know the works of Theotocopuli express the same opinion.



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proportions and livid faces; but they always breathe the sublime. As for his numerous virgins and angels they are stamped with great beauty, a combination of gentleness and grace. His portraits live; he succeeded better than any one in representing not only the external aspect of a face, but also all that was most intimate and characteristic in his model.

The study of the technique of El Greco is of great interest. It is that which enabled him to obtain the most surprising effects of colour and the most delicate harmonies, and at the same time strange, sometimes even discordant, contrasts. The gradation of the values of colour in his pictures is in itself instructive. The whites are sometimes brilliant and pure, sometimes tinged with grey or yellow, but always of a rare quality. His bust portraits in the Museum at Madrid, in which there are three dominating tones, the black of the clothing and the background, the curious grey of the face, and the intense white of the ruffle, produce a unique effect.

His method is a real enigma: at times it appears complicated, and at others so simple that it is possible to follow each stroke of the brush on the reddish preparation of the canvas. El Greco generally laid on an impasto for his flesh, put on in little touches and not overdone, he then added a few definite strokes with the brush which, though very accentuated, are very delicate.

There are in many of his pictures, and especially in his religious scenes, faces so elongated, or so contracted, and with such exaggerated expressions, that it is supposed that El Greco went mad towards the end of his life, and that these extraordinary compositions were carried out during his periods of madness. The story is devoid of foundation, and only credited by those who, struck by these exaggerations, do not understand the intensity of sentiment which animates the painter's work. Amongst these timorous critics must be included Philip II., who, unable to render justice to the exceptional artistic genius of El Greco, and only regarding him as an extravagant painter, excluded him from his presence, and did not even allow his 'Martyrdom of Saint Maurice,' now to be seen in the Escurial, to be hung in the place for which it had been painted. And nowadays who remembers the majority of the painters to whom Philip preferred to entrust the decoration of the Escurial? The works of El Greco are more and more admired, and Velazquez held them in such high esteem that, according to the inventory made of his studio after his death, he owned three of his portraits, two representing men, and one, a woman.



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PORTRAIT OF THE COUNT OF BENAVENTE
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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PORTRAIT OF THE DUKE OF MODENA
MODENA GALLERY

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The wide-spread opinion that Velazquez at this time imitated the Venetians, and especially Tintoretto, arises from the impression produced on him by El Greco, whose style offered so many points of resemblance to that of Titian, and above all to that of Tintoretto, his masters. Velazquez did not come under the direct influence of these painters, not even at the time when we might suppose him specially susceptible to an impulse of this nature, that is, at the time when he studied and copied the principal Venetian masters. The adoption by Velazquez of certain silvery grey tints in the colouring of the flesh, the use of special carmines, a greater freedom of execution in the draperies, fabrics, and other accessories, such are the points where the influence of El Greco may be observed. Velazquez was luckily possessed of sufficient perception to assimilate that which was sound in the practice of his predecessor, while avoiding all that was dangerous. He owes to him certain refinements of colouring, and a very distinguished harmony of grey tones, which were lacking in his pictures up till then, but he nevertheless preserved his own faultless drawing, and the happy balance of his innate qualities.

There is nothing in the whole of Velazquez's paintings which approaches nearer to the style of El Greco than the supposed 'Portrait of the Count of Benavente' (No. 1090 in the Prado Museum) (see Plate XXXIII.), a portrait of which the subject and even the author—who was said to be Titian—remained unknown up to the time when Don Pedro de Madrazo[1] cleared up this point. The portrait is half-length; the model appears to be between fifty and sixty years old, and is dressed in a suit of gold damascened armour crossed by a pink sash. There are gauntlets on the hands; his left hand rests on the hilt of his sword, and his right on a helmet placed on a table covered with a red cloth; behind him a curtain pulled back reveals a landscape background. The head, and especially the mouth, have been clumsily repainted, but the bust is very fine, and in a good state of preservation. The armour is painted with great skill, and recalls, by its colour and reflected lights, that worn by the principal figure in the 'Burial of the Count of Orgaz,' one of El Greco's famous works. In the curtain and

[1] *Catálogo Descriptivo é Histórico de los Cuadros del Museo del Prado.* By Don Pedro de Madrazo. Madrid, 1872. The note devoted to this picture states that the model of the portrait is the ninth Count of Benavente, who, in 1641, was Governor-General on the Portuguese frontier, an erroneous allegation, as the ninth bearer of this title died in 1633. The qualities of this portrait being such as did not appear in the work of Velazquez until several years after 1633, the date of the death of the ninth Count of Benavente, it is probable that it is not the personage supposed by Madrazo, but the tenth count, Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel.



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the landscape background are many retouchings which spoil this fine portrait.

The 'Portrait of Francis d'Este, Duke of Modena' (see Plate XXXIV.), is not unlike that of the Count of Benavente. The pose is almost the same, and the duke also wears armour and a sash. It was on the occasion of this prince's journey to Madrid in 1638 that Velazquez must have painted this interesting portrait, whose authenticity is undeniable, although, after having disappeared for some considerable time, it was bought in 1843 as a Van Dyck for the Modena Gallery, where it now is. It is a life-size bust painted with the idea of utilising it for a portrait of larger size. It is of beautiful colouring and great vigour and expression, one of the good works of the master at that prolific period. The head, which is painted with great 'amour' and well designed, is enclosed within the dark frame formed by a splendid mass of black hair. The carmine sash and armour, though slighter in work and of more diluted colouring, are wonderfully painted. The picture is in a perfect state of preservation.

I must here mention another 'Portrait' which is at Apsley House (see Plate XXXV.), and which for a long time passed for a portrait of Velazquez himself. The person represented is certainly not our painter, but this splendid picture is without doubt authentic. The subject appears to be about thirty-five years of age. He has a pale complexion, refined features of Spanish type, a black moustache and pointed beard, short hair, and expressive eyes, which are fixed on the beholder. He is dressed in black, and wears a plain ruffle. The bust is in profile, the head turned three-quarters to the left, thus assuming the same position as those of the Count of Benavente and Duke of Modena. The outline of the well-set-up figure stands out from the dark grey background, and the work is stamped with the sobriety characteristic of the master's works. The execution is precise and emphatic.

One of the most important works of this period, and perhaps the most widely celebrated of all the pictures of Velazquez, is the 'Surrender of Breda,' commonly known as 'Las Lanzas' (the Lances) (see Plate XXXVI.). The painter desired thus to immortalise the most heroic and glorious event of the disastrous reign of Philip IV. The King's share in this feat of arms, it is true, was confined to his laconic order: 'Spinola, you must take Breda!' Furnished with these instructions, Ambrosio Spinola, like a truly illustrious captain, crowned an already brilliant reputation by directing with superhuman energy



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PORTRAIT OF A MAN

LONDON, COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

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THE SURRENDER OF BREDA (LAS LANZAS)
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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for many months, and in the midst of countless difficulties, a siege which, although it ended in a capitulation, was equally honourable to defenders and assailants. It is this double point of view, this equal glory of conquerors and conquered, that Velazquez has interpreted in an incomparable manner.

In the centre of the picture the Marquis of Spinola, with the most courteous affability, and a smile on his lips, receives Justin of Nassau who hands him the keys of the town. This group, instead of representing the conclusion of a feat of arms, seems to be an episode charged with the most chivalrous sentiment. On the right, behind the principal figure, are the leaders of the Spanish troops. It is evident that the majority of them are portraits, for many of the heroes of the capture of Breda were still living at the time of the execution of this picture; but, although the names of the leaders have been handed down to us, it would be very hazardous to attempt to individualise any of them. Is the man with the 'chambergo' (slouch hat) on his head (see Plate XXXVII.), who is visible between Spinola's horse and the edge of the picture, Velazquez himself, as many maintain? M. Lefort denies it, but Cruzada Villaamil is persuaded it is he, and selects this portrait as a frontispiece to adorn his work on Velazquez. If we compare this likeness with the portrait in the Capitoline Museum, or the equally authentic one in the Valencia Museum, and take into consideration the difference of age in these three portraits, we must come to the conclusion that the person in 'The Lances' is none other than the artist himself. We have seen that the portrait in the Capitoline Museum must have been painted in 1637; the one at Valencia, where the painter appears to be more than forty years old, was executed towards 1645, and the 'Surrender of Breda' in 1639 or 1641, when Velazquez was forty or forty-two years of age. The difference between these dates explains the changes in the face.

To return to 'The Lances'; it should be noticed that the group on the left, formed by the followers of Nassau, is less in number than that of the Spaniards. The cause is easy to find: Flemish models were not so abundant in Madrid as Spanish ones; but this numerical inferiority detracts nothing from the picturesqueness of this portion of the canvas. The figures of the Flemings, being nearer to the spectator, are larger than those of their adversaries, and the composition is thus balanced. In their group the three predominating notes are green, yellow, and an exquisite white, which harmonise with the tones of the group opposite. The two companies differ also in their costumes,



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types, and arrangements. The sunburnt complexion of Justin of Nassau, his broad lace collar, ample doublet, and enormous boots, form a contrast with the elegance and pale face of Spinola, who wears armour, and is shod with neat boots well fitted to his aristocratic feet.

In the middle distance, on the right, is a company of infantry armed with pikes or lances, of which the unavoidable parallelism, considered by some the weak point of the work,[1] gave to this picture the name by which it is commonly known. In the background may be seen the garrison marching past with its arms and colours, according to the terms granted by Spinola out of respect for the heroic defence of the place. In the distance extends a variegated landscape full of such picturesque passages as water-courses, trenches, and soldiers, under a sky of light and changing clouds. Several fires, some close by, others more remote, from which columns of smoke are rising, serve further to animate a scene already full of life.

It is hardly surprising that in such a complicated composition, and one of such powerful effect, weaknesses unavoidable in works which occupy a long time are to be met with; inspiration indeed cannot be kept at the same heat during the whole time of creation. Modern critics might find fault with the oblique lighting of 'The Lances,' and maintain that it is neither the light of the sun nor the diffused light of the open air so in vogue at the present day. The composition might be blamed as too symmetrical, and subject to the narrow rules of archaic canons. Lastly, among the heads, otherwise so expressive and varied, and of which some are excellent, there are two or three which are careless and even defective. But these imperfections, even if they exist, only serve to heighten the beauties of a picture which is the model of those of the kind, and the most perfect specimen of what is called the second manner of Velazquez, that is, the style which characterises his work during the period which elapsed between his two journeys to Italy.

I should be accused of prolixity were I to quote all the praise which has been bestowed on 'The Lances.' Professor Justi, who analyses it as conscientiously as he does the other works of the master, says with regard to it: 'There are in few historical paintings so much artistic fervour and virility as in this; few works afford more food for thought, still fewer reveal an artist gifted with so noble a

[1] The painter Anthony Raphael Mengs, in a letter to Ponz, published in the sixth volume of *Viaje de España*, after greatly praising this picture, adds that 'all is executed in masterly style except the lances.'



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PORTRAIT OF VELAZQUEZ
DETAIL FROM THE 'SURRENDER OF BREDA

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PRINCE DON BALTASAR CARLOS WITH A DWARF

BOSTON, U.S.A., MUSEUM

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spirit.' Artists, too, have been infected with the same enthusiasm. When Henri Regnault came to Madrid, in 1868, after his stay in Italy, he exclaimed, on seeing the works of Velazquez: 'I have never seen anything to compare with this man. What colour, what charm, what a new and original point of view, what certainty of execution! . . . I should like to assimilate the whole of Velazquez. He is the first painter in the world. . . . Oh! if I don't make great progress at Madrid, I'll hang myself!'[1] He did not limit himself to these effusions; he undertook a copy of 'The Lances' of the same dimensions as the original; he set to work with feverish ardour, working eight and a half hours a day, and although Regnault was unable to finish the copy which is now at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, it is the best proof of the enthusiasm with which the great Spanish painter inspired him.

The picture of 'The Lances,' originally destined for the Salon de los Reinos, in the Buen Retiro Palace, was at the new palace at Madrid in 1772. Is it credible that at the end of the eighteenth, and even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the subject of this composition was universally unknown? Ponz, in his *Journey in Spain*,[2] supposes that the principal figure in this scene is the Marquis of Pescara. Mengs, in spite of the praises which he bestows on this canvas, knows nothing about it beyond the fact that it is the capitulation of a fortress. Ceán Bermudez falls into the same error as Ponz, whom he copies. Such was the oblivion into which in that epoch, doubtless on account of school factions, fell the picture of 'The Lances,' at once the perpetuation of a glorious deed of Spanish arms, and one of the masterpieces of painting.

[1] *Correspondance de Henri Regnault*, annotée et recueillie par Arthur Duparc. Paris, 1872.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 54.



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# CHAPTER V

'Portraits of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos' in the Boston Museum, in the Wallace Collection and the Imperial Museum of Vienna—'Portraits of Hunters' in the Prado Museum—'The Boar Hunt at the Hoyo' in the National Gallery—'View of Saragossa'—'The Duchess of Chevreuse'; the fate of this portrait as well as those of the Poet Quevedo and Cardinal Borja is unknown—Admiral Adrian Pulido Pareja—Other works attributed to Velazquez.

PRINCE BALTASAR CARLOS, the eldest son of Philip IV., and Isabella of Bourbon, was born on October 17th, 1629, during Velazquez's stay in Italy. This event, awaited with impatience in Spain, was received with the greatest joy.

Among the numerous portraits which Velazquez painted of this Prince, and which I shall describe in the course of this work, I do not think that any were painted earlier than the one (see Plate XXXVIII.) recently acquired by the Boston Museum, and formerly at Castle Howard, the seat of the Earl of Carlisle. The Prince, then two years old, is represented as standing on a step in the middle distance; in the foreground is a dwarf page. Already in the Prince's glance can be seen the vivacity so characteristic of his later portraits. In his pose, which is not that of a child, the painter's intention of giving prominence to the high rank of his model may be noted; his left hand is placed on the hilt of his sword and his right on a bâton. A red sash crosses his rich costume of dark velvet embroidered with gold. In the background is a large red curtain, and on a cushion a velvet hat with white feathers. The dwarf, who stands a step lower than his master, turns his enormous head towards him. He wears a large and simple collarette and a chain worn crosswise, an apron fitting closely to his waist, covers the lower part of his body. In his right hand he holds a strange kind of silver rattle and in his left an apple.

Waagen praises this picture very highly, and attributes it to Velazquez. It has, however, been called a portrait of the Prince of Parma, painted by Correggio. Curtis catalogues it as representing that Prince; but no doubt can any longer exist on this point; it is



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PORTRAIT OF PRINCE DON BALTASAR CARLOS
LONDON, WALLACE COLLECTION

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PORTRAIT OF PRINCE DON BALTASAR CARLOS
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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certainly the portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos. Is it an original picture by Velazquez? Never having seen this canvas I must rely on the appreciation of Professor Justi and Sir Walter Armstrong, who believe in its authenticity, though the latter of these critics supposes that the ornaments of the costume have been unskilfully repainted, a hypothesis which an examination of photographs of the portraits tends to confirm, and which might even be extended to other parts of the picture.

In the Wallace Collection there is a beautiful portrait of this same Prince (see Plate XXXIX.) whose pose reminds one forcibly of the former. The Prince in this portrait appears to be a few months older than in the Boston picture, having longer and more abundant hair. The Prince's dress is of a greenish tint covered with silver ornaments and a carmine sash across the breast. The right hand rests on a bâton and the left on the hilt of a small sword; to the left, on the ground, is a cushion on which may be seen the plumed hat of the young Prince. It is an authentic painting and well preserved; the gold tassel hanging from the curtain, which is badly painted, was added at a later date.

In the first edition of this work I was unable to include this original picture of Velazquez owing to its being, together with the interesting portrait of a Spanish Lady (La Femme à l'Éventail), in the private rooms of Hertford House, where I was unable to see it.

Between these portraits and the one at the Vienna Gallery chronological order necessitates the mention of the equestrian portrait and the one in hunting dress in the Prado Museum, but the special character of these works demands their being treated at the same time as others belonging to the same group.

The 'Portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos' in the Imperial Museum at Vienna (No. 616) (see Plate XL.) represents him at the age of ten or twelve. The child, standing, wears a suit of black velvet trimmed with silver and a cloak to match, his right hand rests on a low arm-chair and his left on his sword. Behind is a table covered with a red cloth, on which is placed his hat; the background is grey.

This work is wonderfully harmonious: one is struck at once by the powerful modelling of the pale face illuminated from in front, and its expression, where can be read the character of this universally beloved child, whose premature death had such a disastrous effect on the destinies of Spain. Don Baltasar, gifted with the intelligence of his mother, Isabella of Bourbon, daughter of Henry IV. and Marie de Médicis, inherited also from her the features of the Bourbons, so



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different from those of the Princes of the House of Austria; he had not their projecting jaw, and his eyes, as dark and as quick as those of his mother, have nothing in common with the melancholy grey-blue eyes of the three Philips.

The care with which this head is painted leads me to believe that, contrary to the custom of great people, the Prince was a patient sitter; a circumstance which enabled Velazquez to execute a portrait which is a masterpiece.

Although the majority of the portraits of our painter have uniformly coloured backgrounds, or else are quietly embellished by curtains or tables, Velazquez executed a certain number where the figure stands out from a landscape background, whose originality constitutes one of the individual peculiarities of the artist. Indeed, the numerous landscape backgrounds in request up till that time, which may be observed in so many portraits, although in detail inspired by nature, were purely conventional in treatment, and placed there only with the intention of diversifying the work, and allowing the use of more or less warm tones in harmony with the usually delicate flesh tints; thus we may say that most of the landscapes represent evening effects, with flame-coloured skies and very dark vegetation for the sake of dramatic effect.[1] In the landscape backgrounds of Velazquez the tones are always cold bluish greys. They are painted from nature, and inspired by the views which he saw from the windows of the Palace itself, or which he noted either in the neighbourhood of the Palace, the Pardo, or the Escurial, whither his duty at the Court constantly led him. The peculiarity of these landscapes of Velazquez is that the sun never lights up the object directly, and that in consequence the shadows are not accentuated, contrary to what is in reality produced by the action of the brilliant light of the Castilian sun; in his skies float light clouds, broken here and there by strips of blue. All who know the varying aspect of the country round Madrid on certain cloudy spring days, and have observed the tints of the slopes of the Pardo with its evergreen-oaks planted in the grey and reddish soil, and in the distance the brilliant yet delicate blue of the snow-capped Guadarrama, will easily understand how Velazquez, impressed by these effects, saw in them a background, at once artistic and novel, for the austere originals of his portraits. The most characteristic of the pictures in this manner are the three 'Portraits of the Hunters' in the Prado Museum (Nos. 1074, 1075, 1076) destined for the Torre de la

[1] M. Émile Michel, in his *Étude sur Velazquez* (page 140), brings forward similar views.



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PORTRAIT OF PRINCE DON BALTASAR CARLOS IN HUNTING DRESS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTE DON FERNANDO OF AUSTRIA
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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Parada, the meeting-place of the Hunt at the Pardo, where the Kings of Spain from the time of Charles V. loved to repair. They represent Philip IV., the Infante Don Ferdinand of Austria, the King's brother, and Prince Don Baltasar Carlos (see Plates XLI. to XLIV.). All three are standing, and are dressed in a hunting costume of greenish brown; leather gaiters and gloves, and a small cap, complete their outfit. The hunters, attended by their hounds, hold their guns in their hands. The three backgrounds are identical: a view of the Pardo, with the slopes of the Guadarrama in the distance. An oak rises up near each of the Princes, and the sky is cloudy.

Such are the characteristics common to each of the three portraits, but they differ in the following points, which are worthy of notice. The 'Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar' (see Plate XLI.) must have been executed in 1635, the Infante being then six years old, according to the inscription at the bottom of the portrait. On the right of the Prince lies a large dog, on his left a small greyhound advances his muzzle just at the edge of the canvas. The young hunter holds with one hand his little gun, with its butt resting on the ground. This portrait, painted like the two others in a key of very delicate grey, is a superb composition, although in the sky and in the branches of the oak which stand out over him, traces can be seen of its having been overcleaned, so that it has lost its primitive brilliancy. The 'Portrait of the Infante Don Fernando' (see Plate XLII.), which is undoubtedly the best of the three, and probably the one last painted to serve as companion to the other two, preserves the silvery grey tone and freshness which make it one of the most striking works of that age. The Infante Don Ferdinand resided in Flanders from the year 1632, and his portrait having been painted in 1635, it is evident that Velazquez, in painting the head, used a study made prior to his departure for Flanders, for at that time the Prince was about twenty years old, the apparent age of this portrait in hunting costume. This supposition is confirmed by the appearance of the head, which, though harmonising with the other parts of the picture, has not the same firmness and relief as the rest.

Justi supposes that this portrait was painted over a previous one, of which Velazquez only retained the head. The artist might have painted over the original portrait in a broad and freer manner, with a thick coloured impasto rich in whites. The ample collar which has disappeared might have been replaced by the present collarette. This last fact is indeed correct; one of those repaintings, so frequent with Velazquez, may here be observed. But, on the other hand, in spite of



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the amount of attention which I have devoted to the examination of this canvas, in order to ascertain the truth of this critic's assertion, I have been unable to discover the least indication of a previous picture, and, indeed, in one place I have noticed the grey preparation used by Velazquez in the pictures of his second manner, which strengthens me in the belief that this portrait was painted on a canvas free from any anterior painting, and that the Infante's head was borrowed from another one already in existence. At the side of the Prince, who holds his gun with both hands, sits a dog (see Plate XLIII.), admirably drawn, whose lifelike head, modelling, and colour, have caused it to be described as the best painted of all the dogs of Velazquez. And no higher praise can be bestowed upon it, for no master surpasses Velazquez in the realistic representation of these animals.

The third of these portraits represents King Philip IV. (see Plate XLIV.) at the age of thirty or thirty-two. This fact, and the appearance of the picture, lead us to believe that it was carried out at the same time as that of Don Baltasar Carlos, and before that of Don Ferdinand. The head is the least interesting part of this work, and as in this case the absence of the model cannot be brought forward as an excuse, and as we know that Velazquez was always at his best when painting the King's likeness, it must be again remembered that persons of high rank, upon whose time duty makes so many calls, avoided the tiresome and fatiguing task of sitting for whole hours and even days. Nevertheless, in this portrait, as in that of the Infante, there is great harmony between the head and the other parts of the picture, and the noble and distinguished effect is further heightened by the truly ideal colouring.

Evidence of those retouches, which the painter put on dry, may be observed in this work even better than in the other canvases of Velazquez, although nearly all present this peculiarity. In time these repaintings become visible owing to the underpainting showing through the layer of colour above. The study of these corrections shows that Velazquez was not so heedless and spontaneous as he is supposed to be. Master of draughtsmanship and keen-sighted as he was, he was nevertheless rarely satisfied with his first idea, and he unceasingly retouched his work, until he had given to the outline of his figures the highest degree of idealism consistent with absolute fidelity to nature. It is this which causes the personages of his pictures, even without excepting those who display characteristics of vulgarity and baseness, and even of abjectness, to be invested, under the cloak of apparent



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DETAIL FROM PORTRAIT OF DON FERNANDO OF AUSTRIA

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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV IN HUNTING DRESS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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realism, with such distinction that they are transformed by this master into prototypes of the classes to which they belong. Velazquez saw nature with an almost photographic exactness, but his interpretation tended to reproduce it in a more artistic manner.

Numerous repetitions of the portraits of the 'Hunters' are attributed to Velazquez, but I do not know a single one which is really by his hand; they are more or less pleasing copies or imitations. The portrait of Philip IV., in the Louvre, is one of these. This copy of the portrait at Madrid differs from the original in that the King is bareheaded. This is easily explained by looking at the original in Madrid, in which the cap was held in the left hand, just as it is to be seen in the portrait at the Louvre. Velazquez evidently altered this picture himself, as he did others in the Palace, covering the King's head with the cap as it now appears, though the lapse of time has caused the cap in the hand to become visible, as well as other apparent alterations through the light tints of the background. The copy in Paris, which I consider is the work of Mazo, is of a yellowish tone and weak execution, and was evidently painted during the period preceding that in which the master altered the picture which is in Madrid at the present time.

The reproduction of the portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos, in shooting costume, the property of the Marquis of Bristol, is, in my opinion, one of the best copies of Velazquez by Mazo, with the variation that the oak-tree which lends adornment to the picture at the Prado has been omitted. There may likewise be seen in it a dog which is not in the latter, and which doubtless was there before the fire took place in the Alcazar of Madrid in 1734, when many of the pictures by Velazquez were cut out round the edges from their frames to save them from destruction.

Another important portrait of this Prince, attributed to Velazquez, is that in the Royal Museum at the Hague (No. 298), in which he is portrayed, at the age of eleven, in armour and holding a bâton, very similar to the one in Buckingham Palace. Both are from an original of Velazquez. The one at the Hague, in which are certain parts which might well be taken for the work of Velazquez, is undoubtedly a copy painted by Mazo. The other, in London, by its colouring and design reminds one of the works of Carreño.

During the period between his two journeys to Italy, Velazquez painted several hunting-scenes destined for the Pardo. The most important of those now in existence, for it is asserted that the others



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have disappeared, is the 'Boar Hunt at the Hoyo' (see Plate XLV.), a part of the royal park of the Pardo where these amusements took place. Ferdinand VII. presented this picture to Sir Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, who in 1846 sold it for the sum of £2200 to the National Gallery, where it now is (No. 197). This picture was seriously damaged at the burning of the Alcazar; the fire and the restorations it has undergone have blackened it, but, judging from the few portions which remain intact, it is possible to realise what it must have been before its partial destruction. The appearance which it now presents has, doubtless, been the reason why Sir Walter Armstrong attributed the landscape background to Mazo.

In the middle of the composition is the netting which served to enclose the game; in the centre of the netting, pursuing the boars, are several horsemen, among them the King, the Count-Duke of Olivares, and the first arquebus-bearer to the King, Juan Mateos, whose portrait is at Dresden. The Queen and her ladies-in-waiting are present at this scene in their carriages, and, outside the circle of the net, groups of huntsmen, equerries, beggars, and pedestrians add to the variety and animation of the picture. In the background are the hills of the Pardo dotted with evergreen oaks. The most interesting part of this work is not the principal episode, the hunt in which the court is taking part; this scene is relegated to the middle distance, and the figures are small, although graceful in movement, and executed with great vigour. The interest is chiefly concentrated on the figures in the foreground, for, in addition to the animation which reigns there, the motley crowd, with its different costumes, offers a great variety of colour.

This canvas reveals the superiority with which Velazquez treated paintings in a small scale, his work being no less vigorous or less noble in its simplicity than in his life-size pictures. It is this which led Landseer to say that he had never seen such broad painting on so small a scale.

Some critics, among whom is Professor Justi, make objections relative to the authenticity of another picture of this kind—the 'Deer Hunt'—which is attributed to Velazquez, and which was entered in the inventory of the Palace under the name of the 'Caceria del Tabladillo,' so called on account of the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting watching the hunt from a raised stage.

Having never seen this picture, which was sold by King Joseph Bonaparte to Mr. Baring, the present owner being Lord Ashburton, I can say nothing about its authenticity.



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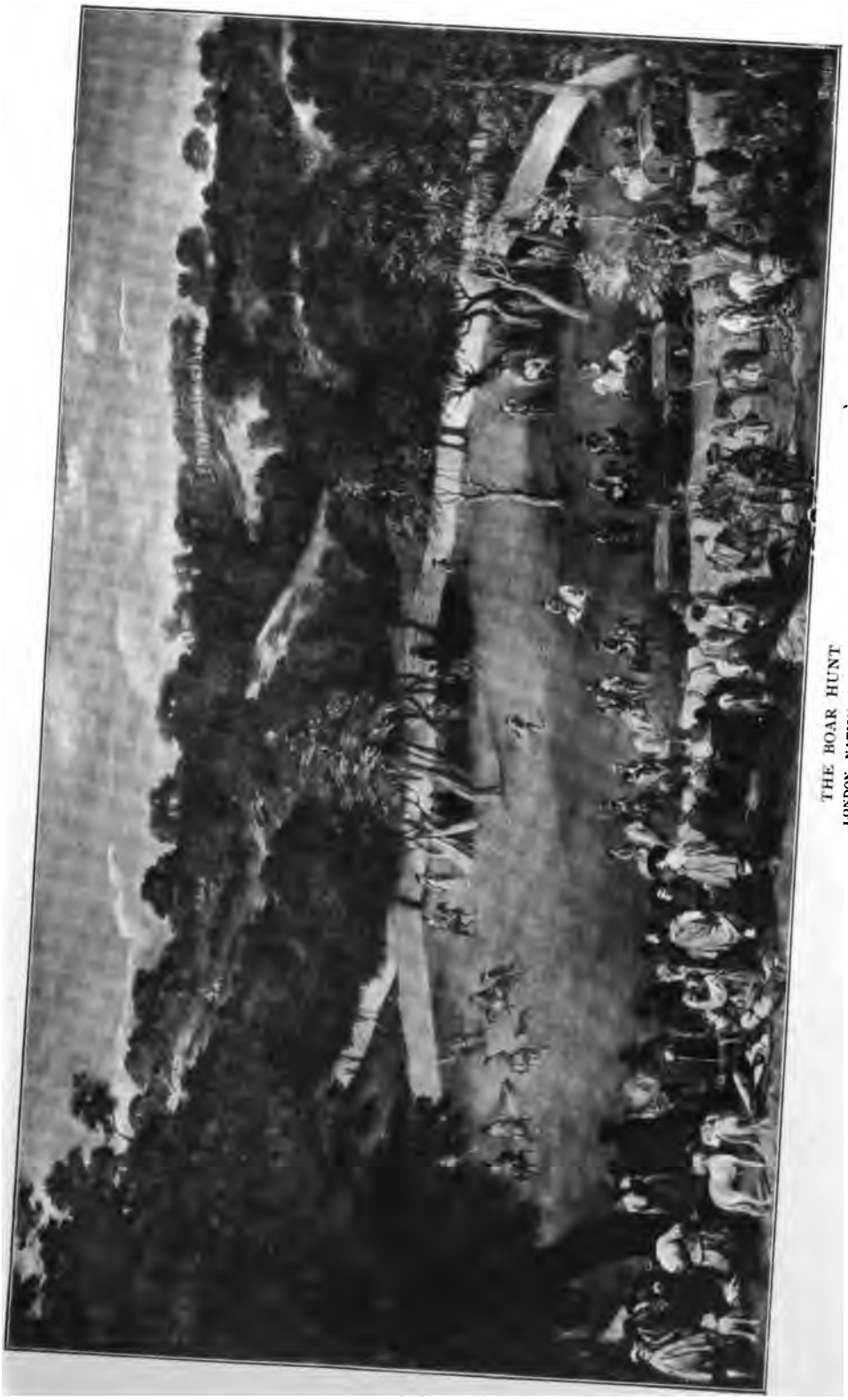

THE BOAR HUNT
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

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VIEW OF SARAGOSSA
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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Although the subjects are different, there are several points of resemblance between these two pictures and the 'View of Saragossa' (see Plate XLVI.), attributed to Mazo by the catalogue of the Prado Museum (No. 788); it is this fact which leads me to discuss here this interesting canvas. Philip IV., in 1646, ordered Juan Bautista Martinez del Mazo to paint a 'View of Saragossa,' and, as a companion picture, a 'View of Pamplona.' A Latin inscription at the bottom of the former picture, bears the name of Mazo, who, in 1634, had become son-in-law to Velazquez by his marriage with the master's eldest daughter, Francisca. On this occasion he obtained the post of royal usher, formerly held by his father-in-law. Before his marriage, he was already a painter of considerable note, and his association with Velazquez greatly improved him; he gained by assimilation not indeed the fundamental qualities of his master, but what was purely external in his works. And so a considerable number of pictures, undoubtedly painted by Mazo, are attributed to Velazquez. The best example of this confusion between the two is the 'Family of Mazo,' in the Imperial Museum at Vienna (No. 603), a picture which the catalogue a short time ago attributed to Velazquez,[1] and which well-known critics have taken for an original by the master. A careful examination of this canvas supplied the means of clearing up all the doubts which troubled me relative to several pictures attributed to Velazquez. At first sight several parts of this composition seem to have been painted by him, but compare the elements of this picture with those of authentic works, and you will find in the general lines, in the arrangements of the groups, and in the drawing of each of the figures, so much that is commonplace and insignificant, that it is difficult to understand why there could have been much doubt as to the authorship of the canvas. Besides, it is poorer and browner in colour than others by the master, with the exception of the reds, which might be considered as his. Probably this poorness in colouring is due to the bad state of preservation of the picture, which has been very badly restored in places. It is, nevertheless, a very interesting work, for, besides showing us among the principal figures the daughter and grand-children of Velazquez, it introduces us into the master's studio while he is engaged in painting a portrait. The disposition of the studio, lighted by a window set high up in the wall, confirms the hypothesis which I have already hazarded as to the manner in which Velazquez habitually lighted his subjects. The head attributed to

[1] This picture is now rightly attributed to Mazo.



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Pareja, but which is in reality by Mazo, to be found in the collection at Dulwich College, served as a model for the head of one of the children in the centre of the picture. Cruzada Villaamil, who has carefully analysed this painting, and was also the first to correct its attribution to Velazquez, named Mazo as the true author, and further indicated the persons represented in the picture, proving by irrefutable data that it was painted about 1651.

To return to the 'View of Saragossa.' It is certain that the general effect of this charming work, the grouping of the buildings, the slope which dominates the river, the bridges which cross it, in fact all its constituent elements, were sketched by Mazo, and that he finished the greater part of it; but it is only necessary to examine this canvas with some attention to be convinced that Velazquez added touches to it everywhere, thanks to which the whole is incontestably superior to anything that his pupil and son-in-law could ever have produced. But Velazquez did not confine himself to these touches; he himself painted in the foreground, peopled with interesting figures in the same style as, but superior to, those of the 'Boar Hunt,' unfortunately so damaged. It is difficult to imagine anything more truthful, more varied or picturesque, than these ladies and gentlemen, these beggars, students, and merchants, the different types being reproduced with inimitable skill. The foreground, taken up by these groups full of movement, is separated from the city by the Ebro, which is dotted with boats decked with flags. On the opposite bank stands Saragossa, with its strange monuments, towers, belfries, and varied houses.

One must not be surprised at the scepticism expressed by that eminent critic, Sir Walter Armstrong, with regard to the attribution to Velazquez of the figures in this picture; he assigns them to Mazo, basing his assertion on the family resemblance which exists between these figures and the portrait of 'Don Tiburcio de Redin' (No. 789) in the Prado Museum, attributed to this artist. Such an argument loses much of its force if this latter attribution is false, which it seems to be if the picture in question is compared with such authentic works of Mazo as the 'Family of the Artist' at Vienna, which is of quite a different technique. The author of the portrait of 'Don Tiburcio de Redin' is, in my opinion, Father Juan Rizi,[1] whose works present such a striking analogy with this one.

[1] Some works of this artist, who was a monk, and was less known than his brother Francisco Rizi, are to be seen at Madrid at the Academy of San Fernando and in the Church of San Martin. Private galleries contain some of his religious scenes and some portraits, which, by their tone, colour, and composition, recall that of Don Tiburcio de Redin.



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But what is even more astonishing than the doubts relative to the figures in the 'View of Saragossa,' which, in my opinion, are most certainly by the hand of Velazquez, is to find Justi, and such eminent critics as Lefort and Michel, only to mention these two, admitting the authenticity of the 'Conversation, a Group of Thirteen Persons' (No. 1734), of the Louvre. This work, of poor design, weak execution and commonplace arrangement, is evidently nothing but a mediocre imitation, probably by Mazo, inspired by the figures of the same kind and dimensions which are grouped in the 'Boar Hunt' and the 'View of Saragossa.'

But amongst the paintings of this class attributed to Velazquez, by far more interesting are those pretty landscapes, the property of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and lent by him to the Spanish Exhibition, held at the Guildhall in 1901, which, in my opinion, are by Mazo, in one of which are depicted two of the dwarfs which have been immortalised by Velazquez, and whose portraits are to be found in the Prado, viz. 'Don Sebastian de Morra' and the 'English Dwarf.'

On December 6th, 1637, Madrid was visited by the celebrated Maria de Rohan-Montbazon, Duchess of Luynes and Chevreuse, one of the ladies who, by intrigues at the Court of France and their all-powerful charms, were most responsible for the *chronique scandaleuse* of the period. The famous *Letters of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus*[1] relate, with reference to this event, that on the day of her arrival Madrid was deserted by its inhabitants, who behaved towards her in such a way that the King and Queen, carried away by the general curiosity, were present at her entry, seated behind the curtains of one of the gates of the Retiro. This eccentric woman appeared in strange attire with her usual freedom and unrestraint. Two French attendants accompanied her, one of whom had the duty of dressing and undressing her. The King, with the idea of slighting Cardinal Richelieu, who, it was said, wished to hand her over to the executioner, lavished many marks of kindness on the exile during the few months of her stay in Madrid. The chroniclers of the day assure us that Velazquez painted the portrait of Madame de Chevreuse 'with the French manner and deportment,' but unfortunately it has vanished. Perhaps this was the portrait which, on the death of the painter, was catalogued in the inventory of his studio as representing an English lady. Señor Gayangos, who puts forward this hypothesis, relies upon the fact that

[1] These letters were published by the Royal Academy of History at Madrid.



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the Duchess of Chevreuse, on account of her connection with several English families, and her frequent journeys to London, was mistaken for an Englishwoman by several Spaniards while at Madrid.

Besides the loss of this portrait and the one already mentioned of the Prince of Wales, we must deplore the disappearance of two other originals by Velazquez representing two other no less celebrated personages: the Poet Quevedo and Cardinal Don Gaspar Borja. There is, indeed, at Apsley House, a bust portrait of the great poet attributed to Velazquez, but it is only a good copy of the lost original. The master's touch is lacking. My opinion is shared by a connoisseur of acknowledged competence, M. Bonnat, in whose company I had the honour of examining this canvas. As for the two portraits of Cardinal Borja, neither the one in the Cathedral of Toledo nor that in the Staedel Institute of Frankfort can be considered as authentic works of Velazquez. They are careful copies, but they have not the individuality which the original portrait of the Prince of the Church doubtless had. It is said that Borja, not having been able to persuade Velazquez to accept money in payment for his work, sent him a very rich 'peinador' and some silver jewels.

The portrait of 'Admiral Adrian Pulido Pareja' (No. 1315) in the National Gallery, deserves special mention on account of its history, and the doubts to which it gives rise. Palomino relates that Velazquez painted this picture in 1639, a year after the exploits achieved at Fuenterrabia, which Condé was besieging, and he adds that this portrait was so generally admired that Velazquez, contrary to his custom, signed it. It was painted, says Palomino, with those long brushes which the master sometimes used in order to be able to paint further away from the canvas, and with more freedom.

This picture, in the time of Palomino, belonged to the Duke of Arcos; in 1828 it was in the possession of the Earl of Radnor at Longford Castle, and from him it passed in 1890, in company with Holbein's famous picture of the 'Ambassadors' and a portrait by Moroni, to the National Gallery.

The admiral is depicted life-size, standing, and nearly full-face. He is dressed in black velvet with sleeves of silver brocade and a broad lace collar, black stockings, and a red sash with gold threads. He wears gloves on both his hands; in his left hand he holds his hat, and in his right a bâton. The background, of a warm grey, is quite plain. His head, a splendid type of the Spanish race, is crowned with thick hair, black, like his moustache and pointed beard.



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His face is full of character, and his energetic glance is fixed on the beholder.

The first impression produced by this work is entirely favourable, and it is necessary to study it in detail to have any doubts as to its authenticity. Sir Walter Armstrong points out the resemblance which exists between this picture and 'The Lances'; if indeed the admiral were not wearing a court dress one might think, from his pose, that he formed part of one of the groups in the 'Surrender of Breda.' On closely examining this portrait it may nevertheless be observed that the drawing is not so firm or close as that in the authentic works of Velazquez; the arms are too short, the left arm being curved in a manner which is far from artistic; the legs and feet, usually so carefully executed by the master, are here heavy and vulgar. It is impossible to impute these imperfections to physical defects in the model, for from the most unlikely models Velazquez was able to obtain surprising results, thanks to his synthetic eye and the incomparable mastery of his drawing. To be convinced of this, it is only needful to recall the outline of the buffoon Pablillos of Valladolid, and to compare it with that of Pulido Pareja.

If, from the examination of the drawing and of the proportions, we pass to that of the execution, our doubts are only increased. Apart from the head, whose broad and simple treatment produces the best effect, and the rest of the body, which is robust and full, there are some parts painted apparently with much freedom, but which, in reality, are but a collection of somewhat uncertain touches applied at random without the precision and certainty characteristic of Velazquez. These are to be observed in the folds of the sleeves, in the sash and gloves, in short in all the accessories.

The picture is certainly signed, but in a special way which constitutes an exception in the work of the artist. Every time that he signed a picture, which he very rarely did, he did it by means of a paper held in the hand of the person represented; such as in the case of the full-length portrait of Philip IV. in London and of Innocent X. at Rome. In the case, however, of the portrait of Pulido Pareja the pretended signature of Velazquez appears on the background at the side of the right arm, and is as follows:—

'Did. Velasqz. Philip IV. a cubiculo
eiusq' pictor 1639.'

The strangeness of this signature, and the characters of the writing



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increase my doubts, for, I repeat, it was very exceptionally that Velazquez signed his pictures, and he never signed them in this way. As for Palomino's assertion that he used long brushes, how is it possible to believe that an artist accustomed to a method which had no longer any secrets for him, and which supplied him with the means of continual triumphs, would thus have changed it for a caprice? But, even if he had used longer brushes than usual for the execution of this picture, it is impossible to impute the differences just pointed out to this change. Another story told by Palomino must be accepted with still greater reserve; this is the anecdote according to which Philip IV. mistook the portrait of the admiral for Pulido Pareja himself, and would have spoken to him, only discovering his error when he noticed that the admiral did not bow before his royal person. Palomino, who wrote sixty years after the death of Velazquez, relied, for all that related to the master, on the word of the painter Juan de Alfaro, who, when quite young, was for a short time the pupil of Velazquez, and whose testimony on this point and on others is not sufficiently trustworthy.

All this explains well enough why a portrait to which these legends are attached, and whose characteristics are so analogous to those of the authentic works of Velazquez, has always passed, and even to-day passes, for an original. In my opinion, it is one more of the works from the brush of Mazo. At the time when it was painted this artist, who for the last five years had been the son-in-law of Velazquez, and had been his pupil before becoming his son-in-law, continued to work under his direction, most probably in the same studio as his master, with such a wonderful gift of imitation according to Palomino, that in his time many of the copies were taken for originals of the master.

The same remarks made in connection with the portrait of Admiral Pulido Pareja apply to another picture, also in London, 'The Riding School,' the property of the Duke of Westminster. By the age of Prince Baltasar, as portrayed on horseback in this canvas, it appears to have been painted about the same time as that of the Admiral, and is also a very clever imitation of Velazquez, but only in outward appearance. The setting of the picture shows that it is not the work of the master. Further, in its execution, very similar to that of the portrait of Pulido Pareja, one can notice a wonderful power of imitation in the frank and bold touch, but it is lacking in the precision of Velazquez, which cannot be mistaken.

Another portrait of Pulido Pareja attributed to Velazquez belongs



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to the Duke of Bedford. Professor Justi does not believe in its authenticity any more than he does in that of the portrait of the Marquis Alessandro del Borro in the Berlin Gallery (No. 418a.). As for this last-mentioned picture, which I have carefully examined, I can add nothing to the excellent arguments on which the eminent critic bases his incredulity, except the following observation: this picture is not, in my opinion, a copy of Velazquez, for I am unable to find in it either the composition or the general lines which the master affected in the representation of such personages as Borro.

I ought here to discuss the various pictures classed with the originals of the master which form part of private collections, but it would be a very tiresome enumeration. My silence on this point must, therefore, be considered as the expression of the doubts which such works inspire. I will confine myself to pointing out some instances where a wrong attribution appears in the catalogues of public collections.

These official errors might indeed lead to others still more regrettable. Among pictures attributed to Velazquez which are not authentic, I will mention that in the Prado Museum (No. 1083), which represents Prince Don Baltasar Carlos at the age of sixteen. It is a full-length life-size portrait. The prince is wearing a black court suit. I see in this picture, in the painting of which Velazquez had evidently no hand at all, one of the best works of Mazo. As to the portrait in the Dulwich Gallery which represents Philip IV. dressed in a light red costume with silver ornaments, it is a work of fine effect and very good colouring;[1] but I cannot see any signs of Velazquez's work in it. The faultless drawing of the master is not to be found in the general lines and contour of the figure, which has a somewhat flabby appearance, nor even in the head and hands, which are careless in execution, and lack the firmness peculiar to the master. Like the previous one, it seems to me to be the work of Mazo, who gradually improved in fineness of style; that is why these pictures, painted about the year 1644, and others of a subsequent date, are of a much finer colouring, and not so rough in execution as those of 1639 of which we have already spoken.

Finally, let me add to the list of pictures attributed to Velazquez the bust portrait of a young man in the Prado Museum (No. 1104), which is nothing but a copy of a picture in the second manner of the master.

[1] Thoré Burger, who published a catalogue and additional notes to G. Brunet's French translation of Stirling-Maxwell's work on Velazquez (1865), says in reference to this portrait, 'It is as clear and as tender as the finest Metzu.'



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# CHAPTER VI

Different duties and missions fulfilled by Velazquez at the Court from 1631 to 1649—The manner in which he was paid—'Portraits of the Count-Duke of Olivares'—Three authentic portraits by Velazquez—Conjectures as to the persons portrayed—'Portrait of the sculptor Martinez Montañes' in the Prado Museum—'Bust Portrait of a man' in the Royal Dresden Gallery—'Bust portrait of Velazquez' by himself in the Valencia Museum—Equestrian portraits in the Prado Museum—Evolution of the genius of Velazquez in the period between his two journeys to Italy.

THE interval of eighteen years which elapsed between Velazquez's two journeys to Italy, that is from 1631-1649, is marked by great fecundity of production in the artist. It was then that the works just described, as well as others to be examined later, were executed. But what was his private life at this time? With whom did he make friends? What were his views? The correspondence which Velazquez, according to Pacheco, kept up with Rubens, the importance of which is beyond comment, has disappeared, and no biographer has alluded to it. What artistic opinions had he? Neither letters nor documents of any kind are in existence to enlighten us on this point. His correspondence with the painter Villacis, to which Palomino and Ceán Bermudez allude, is also lost to us, as well as that which he doubtless kept up with his family during his stay in Italy. There are among the Spanish archives[1] several documents relative to his duties at the Court, where he appeared more as a servant of the King than as an artist. They scarcely mention his pictures, but give us much information as to his menial duties: Velazquez is there ranked with the barbers, buffoons, and dwarfs, and draws his daily pay in

[1] The majority of the autographs of Velazquez and the documents which relate to his duties at the Court were among the archives of the Palace at Madrid, but unfortunately the most interesting ones have long since disappeared. Their contents are, however, known, thanks to Señor M. R. Zarco del Valle, who published the text of the majority in the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. lv., Madrid, 1870. We take this opportunity of conveying to Señor Zarco del Valle the thanks of all those interested in the life of Velazquez to whom the valuable information which these documents contain has been of such great service. In his *Anales* (1885), Señor Cruzada Villaamil published, among others gathered from different sources, the majority of the documents collected by Señor Zarco del Valle.



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kind, receiving so many yards of cloth on the occasions of Court mourning.

It is known that he assisted in the decoration of the Buen Retiro Palace, the place of amusement devised, like so many others, by the Count-Duke to console his sovereign for the numerous political and military checks he had received, which were due in a great measure to his own unfortunate administration.

In 1632 Prince Don Baltasar Carlos was proclaimed heir to the throne in the Monastery of San Gerónimo, an event which the court painter was called upon to celebrate. The inventory of the studio of Velazquez made after his death includes, indeed, a sketch of the interior of the church of this convent, probably made with a view to a commemorative picture, which, however, was never carried out.

Meanwhile Velazquez rose in rank at the Palace. Having entered the King's service in 1623, he took the oath as Gentleman Usher in 1627, in 1633 he obtained of Philip IV. the 'paso de vara de alguacil,'[1] and shortly afterwards, in 1634, he was appointed an officer of the Wardrobe.

In a curious document, dated 1636,[2] Velazquez claimed nearly £160 which were due to him as wages for several years, in addition to the prices of several pictures which he had executed; he pointed out, moreover, the difficulties in which he found himself, which must have been indeed serious, if we take into account the enormous disproportion which exists between this sum and the slender emoluments which were granted him. In 1640 Velazquez made a fresh claim, and the King decided the artist should receive 500 ducats annually as the price of the works already executed and those still to be done. The following year, part of the arrears of wages was paid, and it was resolved to discharge the debt by means of monthly payments.

At the beginning of the year 1643, Velazquez was appointed Gentleman-in-waiting to the King, and the same year he was attached, under the orders of the Marquis of Malpica, to the superintendence of the works of the Alcazar.

In 1644 he accompanied the King on his journey through Aragon, and at Fraga he painted a portrait of the King in country costume, as well as several other works, among which I shall notice, when I come to give

[1] A privilege which could be sold by the person to whom the King granted it.

[2] There is in the Archives of Simancas (Bundle 37: 'Consultas de la Junta de obras y bosques) a document reproduced by Cruzada Villaamil in his *Anales*, according to which the amount due to Velazquez reached, in 1634, 11,843 reals, with 3960 reals in addition, for clothes at 90 ducats a year, without counting the prices of the pictures painted by him.



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an account of the important series of portraits of buffoons, 'El Primo,' a dwarf and buffoon of the Court. The portrait of the King, no longer in existence, was doubtless the original of the one in the Dulwich Gallery; in any case it must have presented the same characteristics, for the King, according to the description of that picture, wore a costume similar to that in this one, which I believe to be by Mazo.

In 1645 we find Velazquez at variance with the Marquis of Malpica on account of the trouble which the work gave him, and for which he had not received any payment, in spite of the King's orders. In the following year a disagreement arose between the master and one of his colleagues as to the seniority of their position as Gentlemen-in-waiting.

In 1647 his labours were doubled. Velazquez was appointed inspector of buildings, a duty which involved the tiresome and not very artistic task of examining materials, and for it he received no return, for we read in a memorial dated May 17th, drawn up by the master and preserved in the archives of Simancas, that this salary was several years in arrear. It was in the midst of this uncertainty, and the precarious situation caused by these incessant disputes, that Velazquez spent at the Court the years during which his genius gave birth, among other marvels, to the 'Christ Crucified,' 'The Lances,' and the equestrian portraits. Finally, in 1648, all the King's previous orders relative to the sums owing having been without effect, a fact which gives an idea of the disorder reigning in the administration of the Palace, a general settlement of the unpaid debts was resorted to, but we do not know to this day whether Velazquez was really paid.

The Count-Duke of Olivares, who, next to the King, was the most powerful man in the kingdom, was always a zealous protector of Velazquez, from the time when his good offices gained admission for him into the Palace, until his disastrous policy led to his own fall and disgrace in 1648. Velazquez painted several portraits of the favourite, and has thus transmitted to us the characteristic features of his physiognomy. The first of these portraits, in which the Count-Duke appears younger than in the others, and which recalls by its style those which Velazquez painted on his arrival in Madrid, is at Dorchester House (see Plate XLVII.). It is supposed to have come from the collection of the Count of Altamira, a descendant of the Count-Duke. There is in existence a copy, though with some variations, belonging to Mr. Edward Huth, which was shown at the Exhibition of Spanish Art held in London in the winter of 1895-1896, and also at that in the Guildhall in 1901, when I had the opportunity of studying both



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PORTRAIT OF THE COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES
LONDON, COLLECTION OF CAPT. G. L. HOLFORD

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PORTRAIT OF THE COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES
ST. PETERSBURG, HERMITAGE GALLERY

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portraits. This, I believe, is the work of some pupil, very cleverly copied from the one at Dorchester House, which is authentic. Olivares is standing, entirely dressed in black, wearing the green cross of the order of Alcantara and a large gold chain. His prominent forehead is partly covered by a wig, an indispensable accessory in all the known portraits painted by Velazquez of the Count-Duke. His penetrating glance, very prominent nose, turned up moustache and thin, contracted upper lip, strike one at once in this face. His right hand rests on a table covered by a red cloth, and holds a bâton, the insignia of his office as Master of the Horse. The bad state of preservation of this portrait, which was rather dirty, together with the dullness of the varnish, led to its not being properly appreciated when exhibited at the Guildhall. Notwithstanding these defects, which could be easily remedied, the majestic attitude of the man, so well poised, and the outline of this characteristic figure amply show the keen study made by Velazquez of his model in order to give it the tone of grandeur which it possesses.

There are, scattered in public and private collections, various copies of the Count-Duke's portrait made from originals by Velazquez which are, unfortunately, most probably lost, and which, to judge from the supposed age of the subject, were painted after the picture in Dorchester House and before the equestrian portrait in the Prado Museum. The bust portraits of the Royal Dresden Gallery (No. 699) and the Hermitage Gallery represent the Count-Duke at a more advanced age. The former of these two portraits is undoubtedly a copy of the bust in the Hermitage (No 422). This canvas (see Plate XLVIII.), which belonged to the Coesvelt Collection, is an original by Velazquez, but excessive pressure during re-stretching has impaired the freshness and strong effects which it formerly possessed. It is the last of the existing portraits of his protector at Court painted by the master. The features are hard, the contracted mouth and earthy colour showing clearly that it was painted during the last days of the favourite who fell from power in 1643, when he was fifty-six years old. In the Hermitage Museum is also to be found a standing portrait of the same person (No. 421) attributed to Velazquez. It is a copy by another hand of the picture at Dorchester House, with the exception of the head, which is taken from the bust portrait just described.

I must notice here three authentic portraits by Velazquez not mentioned in the first edition of this book, and state my opinion as to the identity of the personages portrayed.



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In the winter of 1902 there appeared in Paris a bust portrait of a Cardinal brought from Italy by Messrs. Trotty and Co., which had been alluded to by Professor A. Venturi, of Rome, in the review *L'Arte*. It is life-size (see Plate XLIX.), representing a person about thirty years of age in the dress of a cardinal, with smiling face and black hair, moustache and pointed beard, good carriage and a touch of levity not in keeping with the dignity and austerity of a prince of the Church. The biretta and cape, of a fine red colour, the latter painted in an uniform tone and without a crease, harmonise with the roseate hue of the features and the plain grey background. Every detail reveals the hand of Velazquez, and it can be classed without hesitation among the characteristic works of his second style. It is on that ground I make mention of it here. However, in Rome, at the house in which this picture was found, it was held to be the portrait of Cardinal Pamphili, nephew of Pope Innocent X., who, according to Palomino, was painted in Rome by Velazquez at the same time as the Pontiff, *i.e.* in 1650.

In an interesting study on this portrait published in *La Revue de l'Art* (January 1904), by M. Marcel Niccolle, it is stated that Cardinal Pamphili held his high position only for three years, 1644-1647, having resigned the purple and married. Another important fact bearing on the elucidation of this question is mentioned in the study of the learned critic, that is, that the person in question was in touch with the Court of Spain and was Archdeacon of Toledo. This leads us to believe that he may have been in Madrid whilst yet a cardinal, and that Velazquez may then have painted his portrait. The style in which it is painted differs from that of Velazquez's much freer and more powerful work in Rome in 1650, which confirms my opinion that it was painted earlier.

Palomino's assertion that Cardinal Pamphili's portrait was painted in Rome by our master is probably one of the many errors into which he fell in his biography, and which the critics are clearing up.

The portrait was acquired by the American artist Mr. F. Lathrop, and, like many other masterpieces, has found its way to the United States.

Another problematic personage is that represented in the 'Portrait of a Spanish Lady' (La femme à l'Éventail) in the Wallace Collection (see Plate L.), not mentioned in the French edition owing to its being in the private rooms of Hertford House, where I was unable to see it when visiting this splendid collection.

It is one of the most interesting pictures by the master as repre-



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SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL PAMPHILI
NEW YORK, SPANISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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THE LADY WITH THE FAN
LONDON, WALLACE COLLECTION

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senting a lady of the middle class, a strange circumstance with Velazquez, who devoted his career almost exclusively to painting personages of the Court, princes, and their attendants or buffoons.

In the portrait of this lady, the dark pale face, black hair and eyes, the 'mantilla,' fan, and rosary indicate the typical Spanish woman. The uncovered neck, adorned by a simple collar, part of the bust, and the hands covered with light-coloured gloves, are wonderful pieces of work, sufficient in themselves to prove the authenticity of the picture, which should be classed as belonging to his second style towards the years 1644 to 1649, the year of his second visit to Italy.

Of whom can this singular picture be a portrait? Might she not be the daughter of the painter, Francisca Velazquez, who married Mazo at the age of fifteen in 1634, and whom we find surrounded by her numerous children in the painting, 'The Family of Mazo' in the Vienna Gallery? The type is the same in both figures, though the youthful pose and bearing of the lady in the former have been replaced by the matronly air and maturer age of the latter. This canvas passed from the Lucien Bonaparte Collection to the Aguado Collection at Paris, and from this to that of Sir Richard Wallace, where Velazquez is worthily represented by this picture, and the previously mentioned portrait (No. 12) of the child Prince Baltasar.

The other six pictures of the Wallace Collection attributed to Velazquez are not, in my opinion, originals of the master. There is amongst them a splendid copy by Mazo of the portrait in Vienna (No. 616) of Prince Baltasar Carlos when ten years of age, of which we have already spoken, a sketch of very delicate colouring of the 'Riding School of Prince Baltasar' at Grosvenor House, and a 'Boar Hunt' which is not, as the catalogue justly mentions, either the work of the master, or even a study for the picture of the same subject in the National Gallery. I am inclined to believe it is also by Mazo.

With regard to the 'Portrait of a Spanish Lady,' in the Wallace Collection, there is a repetition with a good many variations in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. Its execution is more common, and lacks the firmness of Velazquez. The name of Mazo comes to our mind on looking at this picture, in the same way as it does in the presence of many other contemporary imitations and copies of the master, but I am unable definitely to state who is the true author.

The third of these portraits whose identity I am endeavouring to



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establish is that exhibited at the Guildhall (No. 128 of the Catalogue) under the title 'Portrait of a Girl' (see Plate LI.). It was then in the collection of Mr. Arthur Sanderson. No mention was made of it in any of the works written on the master till the issue of my article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, of September 1901, on the above-mentioned exhibition of Spanish paintings in the Guildhall, for which article this portrait was reproduced in phototype. Nevertheless nothing is more apparent to those who know the works of Velazquez than that it is a beautiful and authentic picture by this artist.

It is a life-size bust of a little girl of about eight or nine years of age, of pure Spanish type, with beautiful black eyes and abundant hair of a velvety black, which serves as a framework to a pale childish face with its faint carnations. The dress, which is only sketched in, is of light tint, and the background is grey.

The exquisite modelling of this head and its silvery grey harmony undoubtedly correspond to his second style.

The model is not one of the princesses of the House of Austria, who are of such a different type; on the other hand, one cannot help noticing its resemblance to some of the grandchildren of Velazquez to be seen in the picture at Vienna, 'The Family of Mazo,' which leads me to believe that the child is probably the same as the one depicted standing in this picture who appears to be between fourteen and sixteen years of age. If, therefore, this is the case, the date of the work would be about 1642 to 1643, at which time the eldest daughter of Mazo and Francisca Velazquez would be about seven or eight years old, which is the age at which she is represented. If we take into account the characteristics and technique of the work, this is the date at which this picture was painted. This work passed from the Sanderson Collection to the splendid gallery of the late M. Rodolphe Kann in Paris.

If we pass over for the moment the equestrian portraits, which, on account of their magnificent arrangement and brilliant colouring, deserve to be grouped separately, I cannot find among the works in the second manner of Velazquez a portrait of such high merit as that of the sculptor Juan Martinez Montañes (No. 1091 in the Prado Museum) (see Plate LII.). M. Paul Lefort was the first to suspect that the subject of this truly remarkable portrait was not Alonso Cano, as had till then been the general belief, and he hazarded this opinion in an article in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1881.[1] About

[1] Second period, vol. xxiv. p. 409.



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PORTRAIT OF A GIRL
PARIS, COLLECTION OF M. EDOUARD KANN

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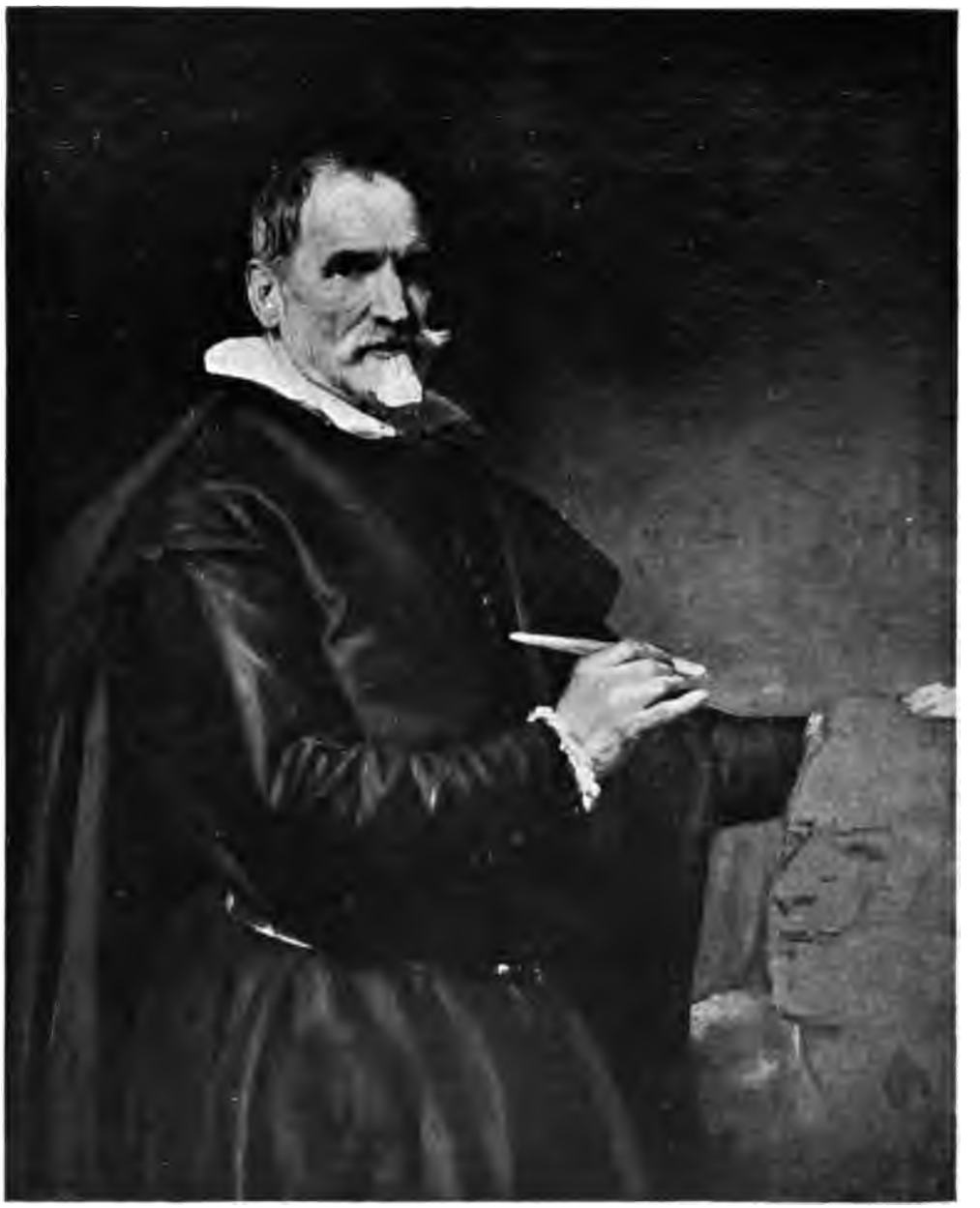

PORTRAIT OF THE SCULPTOR MARTINEZ MONTAÑES
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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the same time Don Pedro de Madrazo, who, several years before, in his catalogue of the Prado Museum, had expressed doubts as to the supposed identity of the person in the portrait, proved in a very interesting article,[1] that Cano could not have been the model for this portrait, and pointed out as a possibility that the person represented was Martinez Montañes. Professor Justi asserts that this conjecture had seemed probable to him ever since 1877.[2] I do not think it necessary to quote the arguments put forward in support of this opinion, but will content myself with adding that a comparison of the picture by Velazquez, and of the portrait of Montañes by Varela, is sufficient to prove the identity of the models, although the portrait by Varela is of an earlier date. This work, now in the town hall of Seville, belonged at first to the Library of San Acacio, to which it was given in 1749 by Count del Aguila, together with other portraits by Nicolas Antonio and Bartolomé Murillo. It appears then that the portrait in the Prado Museum is without doubt that of the famous sculptor, the author of the holy effigies, which are to be seen in great number at Seville; the most remarkable being those which figure in the famous processions of Holy Week. Montañes went to Madrid in 1636 to execute there a bust of the King. It was by this bust and the previous works of Velazquez that Tacca, an Italian, was enabled to execute the fine statue of Philip IV. which adorns the Plaza de Oriente at Madrid.

The portrait of Montañes is, however, of a date ten or twelve years later than this journey, to judge from the presumed age of the model, who appears to be sixty years old. The sculptor, turned three-quarters to the right, is standing, and looks straight at the beholder. He is dressed in black, and wears a plain collarette and silk cloak, which leave uncovered his right shoulder. In his right hand he holds a boasting chisel; his left hand is hidden behind a large bust which is only roughed in, and on which the artist is at work. The head is executed with great fidelity, colour, and relief, and affords a real lesson in technique. The eyes, very slightly painted, are set deep in their sockets, and overhung by the projections of a strongly modelled forehead. The light parts are of a very rich impasto worked with rare skill; the greyish tones of the flesh, so delicate and accurate,

[1] 'Páginas para un libro pensado y no escrito,' such is the title of Señor P. de Madrazo's article, which was published in the Almanack of the *Ilustracion Española y Americana* for 1883, Madrid, 1882.

[2] Herr Justi's book was published in 1888.



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are blended in a manner which renders with wonderful faithfulness in one place the soft structure of the cheeks, in another the hard parts of the face, in which the bones of the nose and forehead may be observed under the skin. The general effect is atmospheric and harmonious, but the light parts are heightened by luminous and strongly accentuated touches, with final delicate retouches in the flowing hair and thick grey moustache.

The other parts of this half-length life-size portrait, which stands out from a warm grey background, are not so carefully carried out as the head, although the faithfulness and naturalness characteristic of Velazquez are there. The hand is merely sketched in, but the indication is so firm and free, that it seems more the work of the mind than of the brush. Everything in this work gives proof of its spontaneity. It is easy to see that it was a mark of friendship given by one artist to another; there is no sign of that artificial arrangement which spoils portraits painted on commission, even though they are the work of such an independent artist as Velazquez. It is possible to note the assurance of an artist who knows that his work will be appreciated by the friend for whom he is doing it. The hand, as I have already stated, is only sketched in, and the bust which the sculptor is modelling, and which seems to represent the features of Philip IV., is merely indicated. In the bust, indeed, the artist has neglected to cover completely the preparation of the canvas which is of an uniform grey, different from the reddish preparations which he used at the time of the 'Borrachos,' and even from the red-greys he employed in the 'Forge' and later pictures.

Nobody has expressed more adequately than M. Lefort the effect produced by this picture; whilst looking at it in the Prado Museum, surrounded by masterpieces, he exclaimed: 'This picture makes all its redoubtable neighbours appear shams, dead and conventional images; Van Dyck is heavy, Rubens is oily, Tintoretto is yellow; Velazquez alone gives us in its plenitude the illusion of life.'

The portrait of Montañes reminds one of the 'Bust Portrait of an Unknown Man' in the Royal Dresden Gallery (No. 1698) (see Plate LIII.), which I believe to be authentic, without any doubt, although its attribution to Velazquez has been called in question. The general tone of the flesh and hair is grey in both canvases, and there exist many points of resemblance between the two pictures with regard to the execution of certain parts of the face, especially the eyes; but the portrait at Dresden is not so vigorous. On the other hand, the



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PORTRAIT OF A MAN
DRESDEN, ROYAL GALLERY

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PORTRAIT OF VELAZQUEZ
VALENCIA MUSEUM

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delicate grey silvery tone of the head is the most exquisite of the whole work of the master. It represents a man about sixty-five years old, with a serious face and majestic bearing; his face is three-quarters seen; he is dressed in black, and wears a gold chain; the red cross which adorns his dress appears, to judge from the little which is visible, to be that of the order of Santiago.

In the three-quarter-face 'Bust Portrait of Velazquez,' by himself, in the Valencia Museum (see Plate LIV.), the painter appears to be several years older than in the supposed portrait in 'The Lances.' He has an upturned black moustache; and thick hair, a wig in my opinion, covers his temples. His glance, which is fixed on the spectator, is energetic; his nose is straight and slightly retroussé. The canvas ends just below his plain starched collarette, at the beginning of his black dress. The background is very dark. This picture, made yellow by the varnish, has not the silvery grey tones of the majority of the portraits in the second manner of the master (those of Mateos, Montañes, and that of the Museum of Dresden which we have just described); it has unfortunately undergone some restorations to the forehead, and numerous repaintings of the hair, but it is undoubtedly authentic, and besides its robustness of style it presents the interesting peculiarity of being one of the few portraits of Velazquez painted by himself, as we know of no other, apart from this, except the one at the Vatican, and those in 'Las Lanzas' and in 'Las Meninas.' There are a large number of copies or imitations of this picture, some of which are carried to exaggeration, and their attribution to Velazquez is the cause of many errors in the right appreciation of the works of the master.

One of the most curious sides of the genius of Velazquez is his skill in painting animals. I have already pointed out the masterly way in which he painted the dogs which accompany the hunters in the Prado Museum, and it now remains to examine the manner in which he rendered the horses in the equestrian portraits in the same museum.

Among the six life-size equestrian portraits attributed to Velazquez in the catalogue of the Madrid Museum (Nos. 1064 to 1069), a distinction must be made between those which are entirely by his hand, and those in which he confined himself to painting, in portraits already executed by other artists, the horses, background and accessories, in order, no doubt, that they should not clash with his own portraits, or even simply to complete the decorative effect of the rooms for which they were destined.



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In the portraits of 'Philip III.' and 'Queen Marguerite of Austria' (Nos. 1064 and 1065), by the Court painter Bartolomé Gonzalez, it is easy to see that the two heads were respected by Velazquez, who did not have an opportunity of seeing the parents of Philip IV., inasmuch as they were both dead before his first appearance at Court in 1622.

It is on the Queen's portrait that Velazquez did least work. The parts repainted under the direction of the master by one of his pupils, probably Mazo, are the horse and the background. It is not possible to recognise his own work except on part of the horse's fore legs below the knee-joint, and in the retouches placed here and there to lighten the dry and hard execution of the ornaments of the original harness, and to correct the trees of the landscape.

Velazquez did more work on the portrait of Philip III. The greater part of the horse, the retouches on the armour, the horseman's right arm, leg, and foot; the stirrup, bit, the ornaments which hang on the horse's croup, and the retouching of some parts of the sea-scape in the distance, are undoubtedly by his hand; one feels in them the lightness of his touch and his habitual precision and vigour. On the other hand, the forehead and nostrils of the horse, as well as a great part of the background, were doubtless executed by the pupil Mazo, who retouched the portrait of the Queen Marguerite. But although he had striven after the freedom of Velazquez, where are the skill, the delicacy, in short, the genius of the master? This portrait of Philip III. has a superb effect. The dappled grey horse is rising in a brisk gallop relieved against a silvery grey background. Velazquez left the features of the monarch in their original state, in order not to alter the likeness; but he inspired the rest with a 'brio' and artistic life which caused the entire work for a long time to be attributed to his brush. Nevertheless, the head, the hat, armour, sash, and ruffle, in spite of the incomparable retouches with which Velazquez covered them, still preserve the traces of the hardness and vulgarity which characterise the works of Bartolomé Gonzalez. Another of these equestrian portraits, which is not entirely by the hand of Velazquez, is that of Isabella of Bourbon, the first wife of Philip IV. Besides this equestrian portrait the artist did not, so far as I know, paint any other likeness of this princess except that already described which belonged to the Imperial Museum at Vienna. He, however, retouched part of this portrait of the Queen, painted by Bartolomé Gonzalez, previous to the time when Velazquez was admitted to Court in 1623. Besides the equestrian picture there is a small portrait of this Queen by Bartolomé



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EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ISABELLA OF BOURBON
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF THE COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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Gonzalez, which belonged to the Carderera Collection, and which is at the present day in the Collection of D. R. Traumann, in Madrid, in which I can trace touches of Velazquez's hand in the face, in the ruffles and in the white ornaments of the head, and which, to judge from the age of the personage represented, must have been added many years after the painting of the picture. There are two reasons for the scarcity of these portraits; in the first place, it was said it tired the Queen to sit, but more especially because Velazquez, ever since his appearance at Court, had been the *protégé* of the Count-Duke of Olivares, whom. Isabella and her friends, not without reason, looked upon with a distrustful eye, and these prejudices of the Queen doubtless extended to all the friends of the favourite.

It is easier to see in this equestrian portrait of the Princess (see Plate LV.) than in any of the others, the parts repainted by Velazquez. He did not touch the hands, nor the dress, nor the rich cloth which covers the horse, all of which, laboured in execution and opaque in tone, are the work of Bartolomé Gonzalez. The Queen's head was repainted by Velazquez, who doubtless did not find the original head to his taste. He also retouched her head-dress. The Queen appears younger than she must in reality have been when the portrait was painted, which leads me to suppose that the artist borrowed the head from another earlier portrait.

Isabella is riding astride, after the custom of the time. Her mount, a splendid white horse, dappled with dun, advances majestically from the right, and is seen in profile. This horse, whose trappings, bridle, and bit are incrusted with gold, standing out from the clear landscape background, its silvery grey tints harmonising with the green tones of the vegetation, is one of the most extraordinary achievements of Valezquez. The noble simplicity with which it is drawn is heightened by the diversity of light half-tones which give great relief to the head, neck, and legs. It is easy to trace the corrections made by the artist in these parts, and also to distinguish the head of a black horse, doubtless the mount on which Bartolomé Gonzalez first painted the Queen, below the nose of the white one. The point where the work of Velazquez joins that of his predecessor is in the reins near the hands of Isabella.

If, with only the help of a few more or less important touches, Velazquez succeeded in transforming these three portraits into as many masterpieces, what are we to expect of the three other equestrian portraits in the Prado Museum which are painted entirely by him?



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They represent the 'Count-Duke of Olivares,' 'Prince Don Baltasar Carlos,' and 'King Philip IV.' Velazquez painted them between his two journeys to Italy, and it might be affirmed, to be more chronologically exact, that they were painted between 1635 and 1640.

The Count-Duke (see Plate LVI.) has the appearance and heroic bearing of a general who is leading his troops to victory, a stretch of imagination which demands our indulgence on account of the masterpiece it has inspired, for the personage represented was never under fire. Olivares is wearing a cuirass inlaid with strips of gold, a sash with a large bow which falls over his rich sword and high boots; his head, which is the highest light in the picture, is covered by a plumed hat with a broad brim. He turns to look towards the spectator while his body and the splendid brown horse he is riding are directed to the left. In his right hand he holds a bâton. In the background may be seen the smoke of battle, flying troops, dead horses, in short, all the accessories of an imaginary combat, the representation of which is so realistic that we might imagine it really to have taken place. The composition is completed by an oak which rises up behind the sturdy crupper of the charger. The style of this work is full of grandeur, and in harmony with the dimensions of the canvas; the tone is quiet and not so brilliant as in the other equestrian portraits which we will describe later; everything is full of fire, impetuosity, and vigour, quite appropriate qualities in a work which symbolises the enthusiasm of war and the triumph of strength.

Thus the sympathy which the Count-Duke had shown towards his *protégé* Velazquez had its recompense in the gratitude of the artist; a sentiment evinced most clearly in this portrait, which fully satisfied the desires of the arrogant model, who was delighted at being thus shown as a prototype of military power.

Professor Justi considers as original replicas by the Master the two smaller reproductions of this canvas in which, among other alterations, the horse is white; one of these replicas belongs to Lord Elgin, and the other is in the Gallery of the Castle of Schleissheim, in Bavaria. As I do not know the former, it is impossible for me to pronounce an opinion as to its authenticity; but as for the picture at Schleissheim there can be no doubt as to its being a very good copy, very much smaller, with variations in the colour of the horse and others in the background, done by Mazo, who has preserved the design of the rider and the horse, harmonising the white colour of the latter with a sky



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and landscape background of lighter colouring than those of the original at the Prado. This is the conclusion I have arrived at after studying the picture afresh in 1904, and after carefully reading the arguments in favour of its attribution to Velazquez set forth by Professor Justi in the second edition of his work.

The 'Portrait of the Prince Don Baltasar Carlos' (see Frontispiece) forms a strong contrast to that of the Count-Duke. Instead of being the apotheosis of pride it is the triumph of the grace and angelic charm of childhood. With the exception of some part of the horse and hat, there is nothing in this picture which is not luminous and gay. The Prince's face, fully illuminated, is of indescribable delicacy, and the rendering of the head, covered with a broad-brimmed hat placed gracefully on one side, is full of the charm and elegance characteristic of the master. The green of his costume, on which is a delicate pink sash with its ends flying in the wind; the exquisite blue of the saddle-bow; the tiny foot, encased in a closely-fitted boot, set straight in the stirrup; the ornaments of gold of the sleeves and dress; the lifelike and spirited head and the floating mane of the sturdy pony on which he is galloping; the elegant movement with which the Prince waves his bâton, are all wonderfully set off by the beauty of the landscape,—a view of the Pardo with its varied tints of blue, grey, and green, with scattered clumps of oak-trees indicated with a few strokes; the blue Guadarrama crowned with snow, seen under light and changing clouds; these form the decorative elements of a work in which it is impossible to know what to prefer: the happy disposition of the lines, the brilliancy of the colouring, the harmony of the tones, or the majestic simplicity which seems to have been the keynote of its execution. It is a truly inspired work with which the most carping critic could find no fault unless it were that of the somewhat exaggerated barrel of the pony, and its rather long hoofs. These, however, are not serious defects, and doubtless arose from the difficulty of studying the animal in so violent movement. This portrait must have been painted in 1635, the Prince being then six years old, as he appears to be in the portrait.

The last of the equestrian portraits by Velazquez, that of 'Philip IV.' (see Plate LVII.), is still finer than the admirable works we have just examined. This portrait was doubtless executed at the time when the sculptor Tacca was commissioned to make an equestrian statue of the King for the gardens of the Buen Retiro. In order to render Tacca's task easier, several drawings were sent him, and probably also the bust



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modelled by Montañes, which is seen in Velazquez's portrait of him.[1] The King, seen nearly in profile, advances at a gallop towards the right. He appears to be about thirty years of age. He wears a demi-suit of armour enriched with gold, a rose-coloured sash, crimson trunk-hose embroidered with gold, light-coloured boots, and a large plumed hat completes his costume. He holds the reins in his left hand, and in his right a bâton. His brown horse, in profile, like its rider, rises up on its hind legs; its strong and muscular build, thick mane, small and sheep-like head, and well-developed limbs make this animal a prototype of the now extinct race of Spanish horses. In the distance is a view of the high lands of the Pardo, half covered with oaks, half bare, tinted with grey and green, and in the background the bluish Guadarrama, the favourite background of the landscapes by Velazquez. An oak, similar to that in the portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares, rises up behind the horse, and in one of the corners of the picture may be seen, as in this latter portrait and 'The Lances,' an unfolded sheet of white paper, exactly like those which are to be observed in several pictures of Theotocopuli on which he wrote his name and nationality in Greek characters.

Velazquez, doubtless inspired by the desire of immortalising his sovereign's features, surpassed himself in this work. It is impossible to imagine anything more graceful than the outline of the horseman, or more elegant or refined than his seat on the horse.

The lines of the horse and its rider are the grandest and most happily carried out of all those drawn by Velazquez. The arrangement of the work, its grandeur, and the proportion existing between all its various parts, bring to mind the most perfect productions of antiquity, and one finds in it something artistically akin to the marbles of the frieze of the Parthenon.

The general tone of the picture recalls the fresh and brilliant colouring of the portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos. I may here repeat a statement already made with regard to the 'Borrachos' and several pictures in the first manner of the artist, where this characteristic is even more noticeable. The figure is lit up from a brilliant centre of light, and not by the diffused light of the open air on a cloudy

[1] Ponz relates, in his *Viaje de España* (vol. vi. p. 109), that an equestrian portrait of the King by Velazquez was sent to Tacca, as well as a half-length portrait.

There is in the Pitti Gallery a smaller replica of the equestrian portrait of Philip IV., the authenticity of which it is impossible to admit. In the Uffizi an equestrian portrait of the Sovereign, surrounded by allegorical figures, is falsely attributed to Velazquez. It is a Flemish work by a pupil or imitator of Rubens, and reveals nothing of the style of the Spanish master.



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EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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DETAIL FROM EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV

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day. To be sure of this it is only necessary to study (see Plate LVIII.) the shadows projected by his moustache on his cheek, by his sash on the armour, and by his hand on his bâton, and to compare these effects with those which exist in other pictures of Velazquez, in which the artist painted his subjects by a less concentrated and less direct light.

The execution of this portrait is sure, and admirably firm, and, considering its dimensions, it is even freer than that of the portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos. As already noticed in many other canvases of our artist, several corrections or 'pentimenti' may be observed; the lines of the shoulder, chest, and hat, have been retouched three or four times, as the superposition of several layers of paint testifies. The foot has also been corrected, and it is not surprising that Velazquez had to make several attempts before hitting off exactly the wonderful line of the leg and foot, which is one of the marvels of this portrait. It is the same with the horse's hoofs, which were repainted several times before the artist was quite satisfied with them.

Velazquez in this picture, more than in any other, seems to have wished to redeem by the idealisation of the outward form the unworthiness and moral ruin of his model. This monarch, whose treasury was empty and whose power was sapped, and who, menaced by a rising in Catalonia and a revolt in Andalusia, was on the eve of losing Portugal, and of definitely abandoning the Netherlands, must have been plunged in bitterness and discouragement, with the dread of an even darker future before him; and it is owing to the magic of the art of Velazquez that Philip IV. is here represented in the fullness of absolute power and grandeur, in the brilliancy of such triumph as the most fortunate heroes of ancient or modern times have seldom known. It is the sublime privilege of a genius, such as Velazquez, to rise, in the complete independence of his ideal, above earthly realities and the sorrows to which mortals are subject.

Nothing is more interesting than the study of the evolution which the talent of Velazquez underwent during the period which elapsed between his first journey to Italy and the second, which took place in 1649. We have seen the 'Borrachos' as the greatest and most characteristic effort of his first manner. The master then went to Italy and, impressed by classic art and the masters of the Renaissance, executed in 1630 the famous pictures of the 'Forge of Vulcan' and 'Joseph's Coat.' Not only is there an advance in style, but the colouring has gained in clearness and brilliancy, and the execution in



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simplicity. In the following year Velazquez was back in Spain, and in his religious pictures the 'Christ at the Column' and the 'Christ on the Cross,' as well as in the portraits which he then painted, all the qualities which he acquired at Rome may be seen to have become accentuated. The study of the works of El Greco taught him the use of delicate greys in the colouring of the flesh, and enriched his palette with several new colours. At the same time he adopted landscape backgrounds, which he treated in his portraits in a manner quite his own. Thus supplied with fresh material, he undertook the hunting scenes in the Pardo, the portraits of the hunters, the still more important series of equestrian portraits, and, finally, the picture of 'The Lances,' which sums up all the characteristics of the second manner of Velazquez. What an advance he has made since he painted the 'Borrachos'! The hot colouring has given way to silvery grey tones. His dryness and hardness have disappeared. The figures and the groups of the picture stand out sharply in 'The Lances,' bathed in atmosphere, and distinct in their different planes, the colour is more pleasing, thanks to felicitous harmonies and brilliant effects; and, finally, the execution is imposing, tasteful, and simple, without the drawing being less emphatic or less correct on that account.

Thus it is that in the time between these two periods of his artistic career, Velazquez was slowly shaping his genius, bringing out, like so many facets of a diamond, its innate and individual qualities.

This work of incessant improvement carried him still further, and enabled him, in the last years of his life, to carry out those works to the examination of which the following chapters are devoted.



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# CHAPTER VII

The objects of Velazquez's second journey to Italy—He embarks at Málaga on January 2, 1649—His acquisitions at Venice, and his stay at Rome and Naples —His return to Rome—'Portrait of the painter Juan de Pareja' at Longford Castle—'Bust Portrait of Innocent x.' in the Hermitage Museum—'Portrait of the same Pontiff' in the Doria Palace—The termination of the mission of Velazquez in Italy; his return to Spain in 1651 at the repeated insistences of Philip IV.

THE question of creating a Royal Academy of Fine Art at Madrid had been considered in the time of Philip III.; the reopening of this question principally, and the necessity of procuring works of art to adorn the new buildings of the Alcazar, of which, as we have already mentioned, Velazquez was the inspector, led our painter to beg of the King the permission and the means to return to Italy in order to search for the works of art necessary for the realisation of these plans.[1] Having obtained the authorisation, our artist was obliged, on account of lack of funds, to demand a general revision of his accounts. Philip IV. on May 18th, 1648, ordered the *Bureo* (Superior Administration of the Services of the Court) to pay Velazquez the sums which were owing to him, in order, added the King, that he might supply his wants. In spite of this categorical injunction, the *Bureo* delayed the execution of the Royal Order until October 6th. Velazquez set out the following month, all the more delighted as the journey reminded him of the one he had made twenty years before. He embarked at Málaga, on January 2nd, 1649, in company with some members of the Embassy which was on its way to Trent, to receive and escort to Spain the King's betrothed, his niece, Mariana of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III., and the Infanta Maria, whose portrait Velazquez had painted at Naples in 1630. Philip IV., who had lost his first wife, Isabella of Bourbon, in 1644, married, after being five years a widower, his niece, who had nearly

[1] For information on this subject some details may be found in the *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*, etc., por Jusepe Martinez, pintor de S. M. D. Felipe IV., published by the Royal Academy of San Fernando, with notes by Don Valentin Carderera, Madrid, 1866.



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become his daughter-in-law, this Princess having been engaged in 1646 to the Infante Don Baltasar Carlos, who afterwards died.

Velazquez landed at Genoa on February 11th, and did not arrive in Venice till the 21st of April,[1] after having stopped at Milan and Padua. It certainly was not the moment to buy works of art in Venice, but Velazquez nevertheless was able to obtain several pictures, among them the celebrated canvas of 'Venus and Adonis' by Veronese, the 'Purification of the Midianite Virgins' by Tintoretto, and a sketch for the celebrated 'Paradise' of the same master; all these works now adorn the Prado Museum. He then went to Rome, which he was obliged to leave almost at once, in order to go to Naples, and present his letters of credit to the Viceroy, the Count of Oñate, to obtain the necessary funds for the payment of his purchases. While at Naples he chose a number of marbles and antique bronzes, and ordered some casts to be sent to Spain.

We find our artist again in Rome on the occasion of the jubilee which was about to be celebrated in that city, and which attracted a number of illustrious visitors, especially eminent Italian and foreign artists, in greater numbers than was usually the case. To mention only the principal artists then at Rome, I may name the famous fresco painter Pietro Berrettini da Cortona, to whom Velazquez made the proposal that he should go to Spain to decorate the Royal Palaces (an offer, however, which was not accepted); Nicholas Poussin, the foremost French painter of his century; the popular Neapolitan painter Salvator Rosa; the Bolognese sculptor Alessandro Algardi, and the famous Lorenzo Bernini, the best decorator of the period. Velazquez doubtless became acquainted with these artists and many others, a fact to which a contemporary, Marco Boschini, alludes in his *Carte de la Navigation Pittoresque*, published at Venice in 1660.

The whole of this period was occupied by Velazquez in such researches and purchases, and it is very evident that from the time he left Madrid to the day when the Pope, having heard of his skill, commissioned him to paint his portrait, he never touched a brush. It was then, doubtless, in order to get his hand accustomed to work again, and prepare himself for the task of painting the Pope's likeness, that he painted the 'Bust Portrait of his Servant Juan de Pareja,' a mulatto of Moorish origin. This man, who had entered the service of Velazquez as a slave, had acquitted himself of his task

[1] The Marquis de la Fuente, Spanish Ambassador at Venice, informed the King to this effect on April 24th, 1649, in a letter preserved in the Archives of Simancas.



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PORTRAIT OF JUAN DE PAREJA
COLLECTION OF THE EARL OF RADNOR, LONGFORD CASTLE

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BUST PORTRAIT OF POPE INNOCENT X
ST. PETERSBURG, HERMITAGE MUSEUM

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of grinding colours and preparing canvases with such zeal that, in the words of Palomino, he had, 'unknown to his master, and by depriving himself of the necessary sleep,' come to be capable of producing pictures of considerable merit.

The likeness which Velazquez painted of his slave and pupil, Pareja, is undoubtedly the one which belongs to the Earl of Radnor, at Longford Castle (see Plate LIX.).[1] The mulatto is represented turned three-quarters to the right, his head raised, and his eyes fixed on the spectator. It is the pose most frequently adopted by the master in his half-length portraits. Pareja wears a dark green doublet, and scalloped, broad lace collar; over his left shoulder is thrown a cape held by his right hand, which is foreshortened; the whole is of an olive tone with the exception of the head, which is of a copper colour, and stands out in bold and expressive relief from the white of his collar, the character being still more accentuated by his abundance of crisp hair. The background is greenish grey.

It is easy to see from the 'brio' and spontaneity of the portrait of Pareja that Velazquez, free from hindrances, conventions, and pre-occupations of every kind, and certain of his model, executed this work with great spirit, and put his best self into it.

There is a copy of this portrait, which was exhibited in the Spanish Exhibition at the Guildhall (1901), belonging to the Earl of Carlisle, a little redder in tone and less fresh in execution, especially in the hair, which is more negligent in the method of work, and has not the animation of touch of the original picture. The opinion that this portrait is that of the slave of Velazquez is confirmed by the presence of a figure in the 'Calling of St. Matthew,' by Pareja (in the Prado Museum), of a personage who is none other than the painter himself, holding in his hand a paper on which is written, 'Juan de Pareja en 1661,' the face being identical with that of the portrait at Longford Castle.

The portrait of Pareja was exhibited, along with several other important works, in the Pantheon at Rome, on the occasion of the festival of St. Joseph, and it excited such general admiration that Velazquez was unanimously elected a member of the Roman Academy.

Having thus assured his hand, Velazquez undertook the 'Portrait of Giovanni Battista Pamphili, Pope Innocent x.'

[1] This portrait was purchased by the second Earl of Radnor in 1811, and was shown at the Winter Exhibition of the Old Masters at the Royal Academy in 1873. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lord Radnor for permission to publish the reproduction of this portrait, a photograph of which he kindly sent me.



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In the French edition of this book, guided solely by good photographs, I already expressed a favourable opinion as to the authenticity of the bust portrait of Innocent X. in the Hermitage Museum, formerly in the Houghton Gallery (see Plate LX.). Since then, repeated visits to the above-mentioned museum in 1903 have confirmed me in my original opinion, and I do not hesitate to state that it served as the study for the grand portrait in the Doria Palace. Painted with the greatest vigour from the living model, it has an intensity of life and expression which is not to be observed in the one at Rome, notwithstanding the grandeur of the latter, which with good reason passes as the most admirable portrait by Velazquez. The bust in the Hermitage, thanks to its admirable qualities and the faithfulness of detail it reveals in order to obtain the most perfect representation of the subject, is the only work of the author which reminds us of Rembrandt. This work was retouched time after time by Velazquez, a very common proceeding with him, by this means giving life to the intense gaze and to the plain and coarse mouth. This marked characteristic was modified in painting the large canvas, and, if it thereby lost in realism, it gained in noble appearance. Probably Velazquez thought that, in order to compare favourably with the portraits of the Pontiffs and Cardinals by Titian, del Piombo, and so many great masters of the Renaissance, it was necessary to give a gentler rendering of that otherwise repulsive visage.

In the bust in St. Petersburg there are very marked differences in the contour of the face and cap, and the cape is the work of a less expert hand. Evidently only the head and throat were painted by Velazquez, because these features interested him most for the complete work which he contemplated, and he neglected to fill in the rest of the canvas. The canvas he used for this gorgeous study is that which he was in the habit of using, totally different to that of diagonal texture used in Italy, on which he painted the Doria portrait (see Plate LXI.).

It is one of the largest works of the master, and one of those which have been most frequently noticed, firstly, on account of its merits, and, secondly, because of the place of honour it occupies in the Doria Palace at Rome. The face of the Sovereign Pontiff, although expressive, is distinctly ugly, though not so markedly so as in the study already mentioned. The reddish tint, almost purple indeed, betrays the sanguine temperament of the model. His hood and cap are red, as well as the arm-chair and the curtain which form the background. This rich harmony of reds forms a contrast with the whites of the



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PORTRAIT OF POPE INNOCENT X
ROME, DORIA PALACE

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PABLILLOS DE VALLADOLID
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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neck, sleeve, and alb. The form and colour of the hands—of the right hand in particular—do not seem quite to harmonise with the physiognomy and complexion. In his left hand is a paper on which Velazquez has written the following:

Alla Santta di Nro Sigre
Innocencio Xo
Per
Diego de Silva
Velazquez de la Ca-
mera de S. Mta Catca

Below these words are some more which are half effaced and illegible.

The scrutinising gaze, which has an irresistible fascination, the face, one of the most living which Velazquez ever modelled, on which even the perspiration is visible, the robust and ample body, the rich harmony of the reds and whites, the magic of the whole, in short, deeply impress the spectator, who, enthralled, is mute with admiration.

In its presence, the meaning of the acute and striking remark of Schopenhauer is fully understood: 'You must approach a picture as you approach a sovereign, you must await the moment in which it pleases him to speak to you, and the subject of conversation is his to choose; you must not be the first to speak, either to the one or to the other, else you run the risk of hearing nothing but your own voice.'

Artists, too, have lavished the most enthusiastic praise on this work, but it will suffice to recall the fact that Sir Joshua Reynolds proclaimed it the finest picture he had seen in Rome, and made a copy of it. These three works, painted in Rome in 1650, after a long rest of over a year, during which the artist, then in the prime of his prodigious genius, strengthened by experience and constant labour, was enabled to study afresh in the Italian cities those masterpieces which made such a great impression on him in his youth, inaugurate the third and last style of Velazquez.

The execution is that of the best period of the master; that in which, his age and talent having both come to maturity, he was completely master of his craft.

The dryness and hardness which we observed in the early works of the master, the gradual disappearance of which in the course of the development of his second manner has been adverted to, have entirely vanished. The outlines, in fact, which even in the picture of 'The Lances,' and in the portraits painted before his second journey to Italy, are somewhat



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less precise, are carried to a further softness in the portrait of the Pope; the colouring is also more powerful. There is in this work such a harmonious synthesis, and such a majestic and simple interpretation of nature, that the model appears as if of flesh and blood.

There are numerous old copies and imitations of the portrait of Innocent x., as indeed there are of most of the important works of Velazquez. One of these at Apsley House, the best of all we have seen, is considered genuine by many critics. The execution, however, is not so free as that of the works of Velazquez in his third manner, and the face lacks the accentuation and character of the original portrait; its authenticity seems to me to be somewhat doubtful. It is, however, an interesting picture in itself, provided that it is not examined with a view to comparison.

As soon as the work was finished, Innocent x., who was not to be satisfied by flattery, and who found his portrait 'troppo vero' (making the remark, probably, in reference to the study at the Hermitage), wished to remunerate the artist. Velazquez refused to accept any payment, alleging that his Royal master paid him sufficiently; the Pope then gave him a golden chain, and a medallion with his likeness.

Giuseppe Martinez, an artist and writer contemporary with Velazquez, relates that besides these works our painter then carried out at Rome the portrait of the sister-in-law of Innocent x., Olympia Maldachini; and Palomino, less reticent, adds to the list of people painted by Velazquez the names of Cardinal Pamphili, of whom we have already spoken, the Abbé Hippolyte, and Camillo Massimi, Chamberlains of the Pope, and several others.

We do not know the fate of these pictures, and, in consequence, any dissertation in this direction is useless. Palomino is more to be credited when he enumerates the sculptures and casts bought by Velazquez in Rome, and other cities of Italy.[1]

The principal object of Velazquez's journey was, however, to bring to Spain the fresco painters commissioned to decorate the Alcazar and Buen Retiro. He associated himself, therefore, with Metelli and Colonna, Bolognese painters, who were regarded as innovators in the art of fresco painting. Having finished the works which kept them in Italy, they went to Madrid and decorated the rooms of the Alcazar, a work which took them four years. Unfortunately these paintings, like so many other works of art, were destroyed by fire in 1734.

The King's pressing solicitations for his return, which were trans-

[1] Palomino, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 337 *et seq.*



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mitted to Velazquez by means of his secretary, Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, obliged the artist to leave Italy. He embarked at Genoa, and landed at Barcelona in June 1651. He had wished to cross France and visit Paris, he had even had his passport visé with this intention, but the impatience of Philip IV. did not allow of any delay. We find proofs of this in the letters which the King addressed to the Duke del Infantado, his Ambassador at Rome, documents of which the minutes form part of the Archives of Simancas.[1] These show how Philip IV. understood the character of Velazquez; in his first letter, dated February 17th, 1650, he said: 'As you know his phlegmatic nature, order him not to prolong his stay any longer'; and, later on, 'Knowing his character as I do, I have told Velazquez not to come home by land; this would delay his arrival.' In the second letter, dated June 22nd of the same year, he again insisted that Velazquez should return, and added: 'If he has not started already, which I doubt, it would be as well if you pressed him not to put off his departure for a minute.' It must be acknowledged that this time Velazquez did not belie his reputation for apathy, for, in spite of the manifest wish of his sovereign, he delayed his departure for Madrid by a whole year; but this delay may be excused him in consideration of his portrait of Innocent X., and the never dying glory which his name thus gained in Rome.

[1] Although the minutes are at Simancas, the originals are in the Archives of the Osuna and del Enfantado family. They are six letters from Philip IV., the first of which was written on February 17th, 1650, and the last on June 27th, 1651, all dealing with Velazquez's mission in Italy.



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# CHAPTER VIII

**Velazquez at the Court is ranked with the Palace barbers, dwarfs and buffoons—Portraits of these latter: 'Pablillos of Valladolid,' 'El Primo,' 'Don Sebastian de Morra,' 'Don Antonio el Ingles,' 'the Child of Vallecas,' 'the Idiot of Coria,' 'Don Juan of Austria'—The portrait of the buffoon Pernia, surnamed Barbarossa, is not by Velazquez—'Aesop' and 'Menippus'—Characteristics of the works in the last manner of Velazquez.**

IN no other place was the extravagant and inexplicable fashion of adding to the retinue of Princes deformed and often insane people, or such revolting creatures as crétins, and knock-kneed and hydrocephalous beings, more in vogue than at Madrid, though it was at that time common to most of the Courts of Europe. One is struck, on examining official documents, by the large number of these individuals, as well as by the picturesque nicknames by which they were called. Soplillo, Calabazas, El Primo, Christopher the Blind, Pablillos of Valladolid, Baptist of the Exchequer, Panela, Morra, Velasquillo, Mari Barbola and Pertusato; such are a few of the names of this glorious troop! Does it not more resemble the list of actors in a Vaudeville, the scene of which is laid in a prison, than that of the people on whom His Catholic Majesty spent his money? It is, however, among these names and those of the Court barbers that the name of Velazquez appeared, and not even in the place of honour there.[1] In spite of all this, it is to the relative importance of these buffoons that we owe the series of portraits whose diversity reveals a fresh side of the talent of Velazquez. Once more bursts forth the magic power of the art which was able to move the

[1] In the book by Señor Cruzada Villaamil (p. 102), which we have already quoted, there is a long list taken from the original document, dated September 15th, 1637, in which appear the names of all the dwarfs, buffoons, musicians, barbers, etc. to whom 'free clothes have been given.' It is said among other curious things that 'the clothes of the barbers and of Diego Velazquez should be reduced to 80 ducats and those employed in the wardrobe to 70 ducats.' In his interesting work *La Corte y Monarquia de España en los años de* 1636 *y* 37 (Madrid 1886) Don A. Rodriguez Villa published an original document in which the places assigned to the guests at a Bull Fight held in the Plaza Mayor in 1648 are mentioned. Velazquez is relegated to the fourth row, among the servants of the Court dignitaries, the royal barbers and others of an inferior category.



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EL PRIMO
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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DON SEBASTIAN DE MORRA
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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beholder as deeply by means of what was ugly and even repugnant, as by what was pleasing and beautiful. As Goethe said: 'Art is noble in itself, thus an artist does not fear what is vulgar and commonplace. To admit such elements is to ennoble them; and so we see the greatest artists boldly using their supreme prerogative.' Indeed, in the present case, instead of the association of ideas leading us by means of these physically and morally degenerate types to reflect on the evils and sorrows of the whole species, and as a result to feel uncomfortable or disgusted, the sight of these portraits arouses in us only a feeling of admiration, apart from any other suggestion. To limit thus the activity of our minds and absorb them entirely in aesthetic enjoyment, is a power peculiar to the works of genius. Velazquez devoted a great part of his artistic career to singing the praises of ugliness. This fact has already been apparent in several of his early works executed at Seville, and in the 'Borrachos;' but nowhere is it more brilliantly shown than in the famous series of portraits which he painted at different epochs of his life of those burlesque beings who were called at Court 'men of pleasure.'

The first of these pictures in chronological order is doubtless the 'Geographer,' of the Rouen Museum (see Plate XIV.), which was described in Chapter II. This portrait, painted during the first years of Velazquez's residence at Madrid, presents the characteristics of the works of that epoch; the head was repainted later by Velazquez. The gesture, bearing, expression, everything in fact recalls the type of the Court Buffoons, and the hypothesis according to which the 'Geographer' might be one of them is confirmed by the resemblance existing between him and the buffoon called 'Pablillos of Valladolid.' With the exception of the portrait at Rouen, all the other pictures of the series are in the Prado Museum. The buffoon known by the name of 'Pablillos of Valladolid' (No. 1092 in the Madrid Gallery) is represented life-size and in a standing posture (see Plate LXII.). This admirable figure stands out from an absolutely plain grey background on which the line of demarcation between the floor and the wall is not even indicated. Pablillos gracefully holds up his cloak with his left hand; and extends his right hand and arm in a declamatory gesture. He is wearing a black dress and a plain collarette, and appears to be about forty years of age.

It is the most animated portrait ever painted by Velazquez, who generally painted his subjects in an attitude of repose; consequently the striking attitude and the expression of Pablillos have gained this



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portrait the name of 'The Comedian.' It is surprisingly full of life and animation. It recalls also by its tone, execution, and the relationship of the values of the flesh with the white of the cuffs and collarette, the portrait of Don Diego del Corral y Arellano, described in Chapter IV., and it is probable that the two pictures were executed at the same period, that is, after his return from Italy in 1631. In any case, the portrait of Pablillos was certainly painted in the period between the two journeys of the master, for it bears the unmistakable imprint of his second manner.[1]

The portrait in the Prado Museum numbered 1095 is that of Don Luis de Aedo or Hacedo, surnamed 'El Primo,' one of the Court dwarfs (see Plate LXIII.). It represents one of the most typical figures of the extraordinary retinue of Philip IV. He went on the tour in Aragon in 1644, and Velazquez, as we see from official documents, painted his portrait at Fraga, at the same time as that portrait of the King, the unfortunate loss of which has been already referred to.

Velazquez never displayed his genius to better advantage than by executing from such an unpromising model one of his most admirable masterpieces. The dwarf, who is seated, is engaged in turning over the leaves of a folio which is almost larger than his small body; in front of him is an open book on which are placed a horn inkstand and a pen, most striking pieces of realistic detail. Two other books complete the library of this studious dwarf. He is wearing a large hat placed very much on one side of his head, and this serves as a background from which his head stands out with great vigour. The expression of his face is serious and thoughtful, as becomes a personage surrounded by books, scraps of manuscript and writing materials. The folio book and the shadow it casts hide the left leg, but the right leg and foot are wonderfully drawn and faithfully portray the manifest disproportion existing between the body and legs of this deformity. El Primo is clothed in black. The background, which doubtless covers an earlier one, has turned nearly black; it represents one of those landscapes of the Sierra Guadarrama so dear to the artist.

Even if the exact date of the execution of this work were not

[1] Stevenson (*Op. cit.* p. 15) places this portrait among the pictures of the third manner, that is to say, among the works executed after 1650; while Armstrong maintains that it was painted before the year 1624, and consequently belongs to the first manner. Although this assertion is nearer the truth, judging from the appearance of the picture, I think it interesting to mention these divergent judgments which both differ from my own.



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DON ANTONIO EL INGLES
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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EL NIÑO DE VALLECAS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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known, the way in which it is conceived would lead us to place it among those of the second manner of the artist.

Critics maintain that the picture numbered 1096 in the Madrid Gallery is the portrait of another dwarf of the Court, 'Don Sebastian de Morra' (see Plate LXIV.). This monstrosity, with his forbidding countenance, has a flat nose and brown skin. His pose is highly original; he is seated on the ground facing the spectator, to whom he boldly presents the soles of his feet, while his clenched fists rest on his thighs. He is dressed in a green doublet and trunk-hose, and a reddish cloak with a broad lace collar. This picture, on account of its free, broad and powerful execution, deserves to be ranked among those of the third manner of Velazquez; it was probably painted after 1651. The fire at the Palace and old restorations have darkened the background of this superb portrait.

It is presumed that the model for No. 1097 in the same Museum was 'Don Antonio el Ingles' (see Plate LXV.). The dwarf's thick hair hangs down over his shoulders, with his left hand he is leading a fine black and white mastiff which forms a strong contrast with the diminutive figure of the buffoon, who wears a rich and elegant chestnut-coloured costume, embroidered with gold. In his right hand he holds a large hat with plumes. He is represented in a room the door of which may be seen in the background.

Don Antonio el Ingles was one of the most favoured of dwarfs; this may be seen by the elegance of his costume, the richest of any in the series, and we know besides, that a certain Tomas Pinto was attached to his person as tutor.

This portrait, which has the appearance of a sketch, rather than a finished work, must have been executed in the last ten years of the life of Velazquez. There is an old copy of it in the Berlin Gallery (No. 418d) which is attributed to the master, but it is of a dirty red colour and the head is of poor design. This copy, I believe, is by Mazo.

Numbers 1098 and 1099 in the Prado Museum represent two young idiot dwarfs: 'El Niño de Vallecas' (see Plate LXVI.), and 'El Bobo de Coria' (see Plate LXVII.). The Child of Vallecas is seated on the ground at the foot of a rock which forms part of a hilly background; he wears a green coat and green cloth stockings. One of his stockings has come down and reveals his bare leg. The Idiot of Coria is seated between two gourds, he is entirely clothed in green and wears a scalloped lace collar and cuffs. These two pictures,



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like the portrait of Don Antonio el Ingles, belong to the third manner of the artist, and the portrait of the Idiot of Coria bears some resemblance to that of Juan de Pareja at Longford Castle, the general tone and colour values being almost identical in the two pictures. The figures of the Niño and the Bobo, which are companion works, are of the same dimensions as those of El Primo and Morra.

We are ignorant of the cause which led to the bestowal of these nicknames on the portraits of these two dwarfs. In any case, they are ancient designations, although they do not bring to mind any of the surnames which figure in the list of buffoons and dwarfs of the Court of Philip IV. Cruzada Villaamil, who makes a similar remark, adds that the supposed Bobo de Coria might be the buffoon Calabazas (Calabash) as the dwarf is seated between two of these fruits.

Señor P. de Madrazo was the first to clear up the identity of these personages, although expressing doubts relative to the authenticity of any designation, on account of the lack of clearness and accuracy in the inventories of the Palace. Nevertheless, the identity of Pablillos of Valladolid is certain, since his portrait was catalogued under this name in 1701, after the death of Charles II. There is an equal certainty about the portrait of 'Don Juan de Austria' (No. 1094 in the Prado Museum). We do not know the real name of this buffoon, who was always called by that of the renowned son of Charles V.,[1] an indication of the want of respect and esteem in which the memory of the hero of Lepanto was held by Philip IV., the descendant of this illustrious family. And it was not the first time that these buffoons were associated with historical memories; in 1638 on the occasion of a great Bull Fight—a compliment obligatory at any great rejoicing—given in honour of the Duke of Modena, the 'Sabandijas' (Reptiles) of the Palace were seated at the foot of the throne, dressed in the costumes of the ancient Kings of Castille! It might have been in commemoration of this event that Alonso Cano painted the two pictures in the Prado Museum (Nos. 673, 674), which represent in one case two figures, and in the other one, seated on thrones, and wearing the crown, mantle and other insignia of royalty. The comic character of these figures and their abnormal and almost monstrous

[1] Don Juan of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., was, as is well known, the illustrious warrior who commanded the united fleets of Spain, Rome and the Venetian Republic in 1571 at the battle of Lepanto. This same name was also borne by a bastard son of Philip IV., and the famous Madrid actress 'La Calderona.'



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EL BOBO DE CORIA
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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DON JUAN DE AUSTRIA
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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appearance lead us to believe that they are the portraits of buffoons dressed up in this singular fashion.

The portrait of 'Don Juan de Austria' (See Pl. LXVIII.) is the consecration of the surname which the Court was not ashamed to bestow upon the buffoon. He is surrounded with arms and cannon balls, and in the background, through an open door, can be seen a ship in flames to remind the beholder of the action of Lepanto. The buffoon appears a little over fifty years old; he is standing, and supports himself on his feeble legs by grasping a long thick stick. He wears a small plumed velvet hat, and a doublet and cape, also of black velvet; the lining of the mantle, the trunk-hose, and the stockings, are painted in more or less pronounced pink shades, and the whole figure thus offers a delicate harmony of pinks and blacks. The face is ugly, livid and unpleasant in expression. This portrait was doubtless painted at the end of the artistic career of Velazquez, so full is it of knowledge and skill. There is no other picture among the works of Velazquez in which the technique is simpler; after having carefully drawn the outline of this picturesque figure, he painted it over very lightly, giving impasto to the head and hands only. There is so much facility and suppleness in the execution, so much delicacy in the tones, that it resembles a water-colour more than an oil-painting. It is certain that Velazquez in painting this picture used very liquid colours, as was the case in most of his latest works.

The last portrait of this series attributed to Velazquez is also in the Prado Museum (No. 1098). It is the one which represents the buffoon Pernia, known as 'Barbarossa.' It does not seem to be an authentic work. It might have been executed in the studio of Velazquez by an imitator of the master who wished to paint a companion picture to the portrait of Don Juan of Austria, and, as a matter of fact, these two canvases are of the same dimensions. This opinion is not exclusively founded on the state of the portrait, the greater part of which is merely sketched in; other works by Velazquez, carried no farther, show unmistakably the traces of his genius.

The old inventories of the palaces of the Kings of Spain mention three more portraits of buffoons painted by Velazquez. These three canvases, which have since disappeared, represented Juan Cardenas, the buffoon toreador, a picture conceived in the style of the first works of the master, and also Calabacillas and Velasquillo.

Together with the portraits of these 'men of pleasure,' true types of physical and moral degeneracy, must be classed two pictures (Nos.



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1100 and 1101 in the Prado Museum) to which Velazquez gave the names of two Greek philosophers, 'Aesop' and 'Menippus,' which personify very faithfully the beggar and Bohemian classes of the times.

Aesop (see Plate LXIX.), standing, clothed for want of a shirt in a kind of old cloak whose original shape has succumbed to the ravages of time, is the type of the professional beggar. A cynical expression, a tumbled greyish wig, a cadaverous face with his little eyes further apart than is usual, a nose disfigured by age and accidents, an insolent or scornful mouth, prominent cheek-bones and hollow cheeks; such are the characteristic features of this indescribable personality. The tottering body is supported on the right leg and foot. The latter, twisted early in life, reveals the peculiar manner in which he must have dragged himself along. His left hand is hidden in his cloak, and with his right he holds a folio book, the only indication of the tastes of this very unconvincing Aesop. The picture is completed on one side by a bucket, on the edge of which hangs a rag, and on the other side by an object which appears to be a piece of some harness or of a bridle.

The companion to this picture is the 'Menippus' (see Plate LXX.). This name, like that of Aesop, is written in large characters on the upper part of the canvas. Menippus is represented standing, and is seen turning his ill-groomed head, with an ironical expression, three quarters towards the spectator. Enveloped as he is in his cloak, he succeeds better than Aesop in hiding his evident want of shirt. He has a 'chambergo' on his head, the dilapidation of which is not out of keeping with the rest of his costume, cloth stockings and rough shoes. His left hand emerges out of the opening of his cloak, on which the locks of his grey and neglected beard fall in disorder. At his feet is a jug on a piece of board supported by two stones, together with some books and rolls of parchment. The face of Menippus has more expression and more colour than the cadaverous visage of Aesop, but the quality of the clothes and the backgrounds of the two canvases betray the close relationship which united the two models. They both belonged to the same family, and they might well have formed part of that gang of galley-slaves which the doughty champion of the oppressed and disinherited, Don Quixote de la Mancha, animated by the best intentions and ill-rewarded for his zeal, set at liberty.

In speaking of these works I might confine myself, by way of eulogy, to saying that these two pictures figure among the best of those painted in the third manner of Velazquez; but, nevertheless, I should like to add that as Velazquez was not obliged, from the point of view of like-



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ÆSOP
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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MENIPPUS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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ness, to study the susceptibilities of models so little favoured by nature, he was thereby enabled to represent them in the freest and most accurate manner. It is this which explains the spontaneity and firmness of the composition, and the skill with which certain parts appear to be no more than indicated; the result being that the whole has a freshness and individuality which may be sought for in vain in works much further elaborated.

With the exception of the 'Geographer,' 'Pablillos of Valladolid,' and 'El Primo,' which were executed before the second journey of Velazquez to Italy, the other buffoons and the two philosophers were painted during the last ten years of the master's life.

It was then that Velazquez, a complete master of his art, taught by a life of serious and thoughtful labour, executed his most surprising works. Simplicity of artistic means, a harmonious synthesis of conception and interpretation, are the elements of what is called his 'summary' style; it was due, if we may believe Palomino, to the celebrated long brushes which the artist used; but, even supposing this to have been the case, they were only a material means to which this critic and other authors have given an exaggerated importance.

The transition from the second to the third manner was, in the case of Velazquez, as imperceptible as had been that from the first to the second. There was nothing sudden in this evolution any more than in the developments of nature. Each of the canvases which left his studio summed up all the qualities of his earlier works, together with the progress made since. It is very seldom that the canvases of Velazquez bear traces of improvisation, and the rapidity with which the master painted his last pictures must doubtless be attributed to the technical facility which he had acquired with time, the proofs being the methods he employed towards the end of his career. Moreover, after fifty, there is no doubt that Velazquez became long-sighted, and in consequence was obliged to stand further and further away from the canvas in order to paint, and the broadness of his touch makes his execution appear more summary. Thus it is that several of the works of this period are regarded by the critics only as sketches, because of their spontaneity and freedom, yet on examining them closely it is evident that they are thoughtfully conceived and slowly executed works, that the inspiration is sustained, and that the style is always his own, in short that it is the real development of the genius of Velazquez.

Whilst the master, in his last works, interpreted figures and



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objects in this synthetic and concise manner, he simplified the purely material means of execution. He scarcely used the impastos which were so characteristic of him at first. In the portrait of Don Juan of Austria, for instance, there is only a thin coat of liquid paint. The preparation of the canvas, too, is different. The reddish tint, which he used at first, gradually changed to the uniform grey of his last pictures. The impasto of the preparation became thinner, and soon only just covered the canvas, the grain of which was generally fine, even in his pictures of large dimensions. All these circumstances favoured the preservation of the pictures painted in the last manner of Velazquez. It is not so in the case of his earlier works; the red impression and the impasto have contributed with time to darken and decompose the original tones.

Another characteristic of the last pictures by the master is the astonishing fidelity with which he gives the illusion of atmosphere, that transparent envelope of beings and things which, in the days of our painter, was called 'the ambient air.' This quality, which is almost entirely lacking in the early works of the artist, took form during his first journey to Italy, followed the phases of his second manner, and developed during the third manner to such an extent that it may be said that in this respect Velazquez has no rival.



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# CHAPTER IX

Velazquez is appointed 'Aposentador' (Grand Marshal) of the Palace in 1652—This new occupation increases his duties at the Court—The difficulties he has in finishing his artistic undertakings—'Portraits of Mariana of Austria,' in Paris, in Vienna and Madrid—'Portraits of the Infanta Margarita,' at Vienna, Paris, Frankfort, and Madrid—'Portrait of Prince Philip Prosper,' at Vienna—'Bust portraits of Philip IV.,' at Madrid and in London—Mythological pictures of this period—The only ones in existence are the 'Mercury and Argus' and the 'Mars' in the Prado Museum, and the 'Venus and Cupid' in the National Gallery.

SHORTLY after the return of Velazquez to Spain, at the beginning of the year 1652, the important office of Grand Marshal of the Palace became vacant. Among the six candidates for this post inscribed at the 'Bureo,' the King, after having heard the report of this tribunal, chose Velazquez, although he did not receive the greatest number of votes. This distinction proves once again the esteem in which the King held his painter, but as far as Velazquez was concerned it was a fresh hindrance to the exercise of his art. How many wonderful works might not Velazquez have executed if he had not been bound by these prosaic functions? Indeed Palomino, in the eighteenth century, deplored in the following terms the singular way in which the monarch honoured his favourite painter: 'The duties of Grand Marshal of the Palace, though very honourable, are so numerous as entirely to occupy a man's time. And although the elevation of Velazquez to such high positions is very flattering for us artists, it is also to be regretted, as it limited the productions of this wonderful painter.' At the present time, the inexplicable folly of Philip IV. has been more hardly censured, for, whilst wishing to honour and exalt Velazquez, he only gave him offices and functions which complicated his ordinary occupation and caused him endless daily worries and cares. The master was thus almost entirely deprived of the repose and leisure necessary to artistic work, and indeed he not only often had to await the payment of the slender salary which was assigned him, but everybody, from the King downwards, regarded him as an idle and negligent man, so great was the inconceivable contempt in which



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the extraordinary faculties of this man of genius were held; a man who, like so many others, was destined to carry on a heroic struggle against the prejudice, pettiness and ignorance of this Court.

In a lecture given at the Royal Academy,[1] the late Lord Leighton, after having extolled the great originality and grand simplicity of Velazquez, added these words: 'A Spanish foible, though it could not dim his genius, cramped no doubt and curtailed its production; namely, a tendency to subordinate everything to the pursuit of royal favour.' Nothing could be truer. Velazquez allowed himself to be carried away by the ideas prevalent in the seventeenth century, even in the most elevated minds, whose supreme aspiration was to enter the King's service. But he paid dearly for this want of independence! At the time of his appearance at Court we see that he took service in the capacity of a servant of the King, and not as a painter; later, his artistic successes gained him promotion in the Palace. His patrons did not think they insulted the dignity of art when in 1628 they granted him a salary of two-and-sixpence a day, which was equal to that of the royal barbers. Thus it was that Philip 'the Great,' according to the happy expression of Don Pedro de Madrazo,[2] rewarded the painter who had already executed the 'Adoration of the Magi,' the first equestrian portrait and all the other canvases of that period, and thus it was that he rewarded his future productions. Velazquez, associated with the King's barbers and dwarfs, received 'free clothes' and if later on he was granted new pensions and other salaries, it was because there was not enough money to pay off the arrears of the old ones. He continued to be paid in this manner all the rest of his life. This is what the father-in-law of Velazquez, Pacheco, called the liberality of Philip IV.! Here is what we read in his *Art of Painting*: 'It is impossible to imagine the munificence and kindness shown him by the Great King. He (Velazquez) has his studio in the gallery, and His Majesty has a key and goes and sits there nearly every day to watch him paint quite at his ease. But what passes all belief, is that the King, at the time when his equestrian portrait was being painted, remained seated for three hours, thus forgoing the exercise of his power and grandeur.' How different was the truth from the insipid accounts of the courtier! All for which

[1] December 10th, 1889.

[2] 'Discurso inaugural leido en la Academia de nobles artes de San Fernando el 20 de Noviembre de 1870.' I shall borrow from this speech many observations and elucidations relative to this point.



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PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARIANA OF AUSTRIA
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ~~MARIANA~~ Mtheresa OF AUSTRIA

PARIS, LOUVRE

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Velazquez is really indebted to his sovereign is the pension already mentioned of 300 ducats granted in 1625, and some minor employment at Seville for his father Juan Rodriguez de Silva. On the other hand, in the difference which arose between the artist and the Marquis of Malpica about the works in the Palace, the King decided in favour of the nobleman; what was the good of paying attention to a humble employé who was working with his hands? It is true that this employé was immortal.

Señor P. de Madrazo, taking into consideration these and other similar facts, maintains that, amid the ruin of the Spanish nation and the royal power, in the midst of the general corruption, 'Velazquez filled all this reign with his renown, and summed up in himself the manly protest of intelligent and chivalrous Spain against the degeneration of the race in that century; in this way the painter, far from being a protégé of the King, became himself the protector of the King and his Court, and of the whole of contemporary society.'

This new post of Grand Marshal, which Velazquez occupied during the last eight years of his life, was well paid. His salary amounted to more than £400 a year, and the 'aposentador' had besides the right of lodging in the Treasure House, an annex of the left wing of the Alcazar. This was henceforth the dwelling place of Velazquez, who had hitherto lived in the street of the Concepción Gerónima, in the block of houses of Hita. In return for his salary and promotion, the following were the duties of Velazquez: he had to supervise everything relative to the interior management of the royal residences, to organise the numerous changes of residence of the Court, to furnish lodgings for the King's suite, to look after the decoration and the furnishings of the Palaces as well as everything which this entailed, to arrange all festivities, and, in addition, to bear all the incivilities and worries which these manifold occupations involved.

Velazquez was not able to paint the 'Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria' until after his return from Italy in 1651. This Princess was married to Philip IV. at Navalcarnero in 1649 at the age of fourteen, during the absence of the painter. Philip, desirous, as was only natural, of possessing a likeness of his young wife, and seeing that the return of his favourite painter was likely to be greatly delayed, ordered the son-in-law of the master, Mazo, to paint the first portrait of the Queen. After this portrait came the one by Velazquez, which is without doubt the half length portrait in the Vienna Gallery (No. 617)



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(see Plate LXXI.). The bust portrait in the Louvre (No. 1735) (see Plate LXXII.) was doubtless, as I have already stated, according to the method several times employed by Velazquez, the preliminary study painted direct from the original, which he used for the Vienna portrait, which is of larger dimensions. It is a great pity that it has been spoiled by repainting the forehead, which disfigures the modelling and colouring of this part of the picture. The rest is intact, and there is not the slightest doubt as to its authenticity. The Queen, who was then sixteen years old, is represented full face; she is wearing the extravagant head-dress which appears in all the portraits which Velazquez painted of her, and which affords a striking proof of the extent to which fashion can be carried. There is on each side of the face a cascade of false hair, bows, jewels and feathers. In the portrait at Vienna, in which a great part of the body is portrayed, it is not only the head-dress which is fantastic; the dress is no less curious with its voluminous crinoline under which disappear the natural lines of the body, still further deformed by a corsage as tight fitting and stiff as a cuirass. Her right hand rests on a table, and with her left she holds one of those enormous handkerchiefs which were known at that time as 'lienzos.' From her waist hang two chains with watches, according to the fashion of the day, which demanded that ladies, taking advantage of the fullness of their petticoats, should there exhibit every kind of trinket. The greyish white of the dress recalls certain of Titian's tones. This refined white and the delicate tone of the flesh which stands out from the greenish blue of the table and the curtain background, form one of those harmonies of gradually diminished lights and shades so dear to Velazquez. It is to be regretted that the insignificant features of the Queen did not give Velazquez the opportunity of modelling a more expressive and interesting face. It should be added also that an unskilled restorer, doubtless finding that the features were weakly marked, retouched the eyes, nose, and mouth, and this has contributed not a little to spoil the picture.

The same museum contains two other portraits of 'Mariana of Austria' attributed to Velazquez. One of them (No. 618) is an almost identical copy, though cold and weak in tone, of the portrait just described. It cannot be included among his genuine works. The second (No. 605) is a mediocre imitation, painted perhaps by a contemporary of Velazquez, of whom I have already spoken, Father Juan Rizi.



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PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARIANA OF AUSTRIA
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PORTRAIT OF QUEEN MARIANA OF AUSTRIA
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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The third portrait by Velazquez of 'Doña Mariana de Austria' (see Plate LXXIII.) in her youth is a small bust ending just below the throat, in which the bows and plumes adorning the massive head-dress have been replaced by small ornaments in the shape of butterflies. It appears, judging from its size, to be a piece cut out from a larger canvas. The Queen, though older looking than in the former portraits, appears to be under twenty years of age. It is an original, very delicate in tint, but not exempt from retouchings which somewhat detract from its merit. It was exhibited for the first time in Paris at the 'Exposition des Alsaciens Lorrains,' after the war of 1870, and also at the 'Exposition des Portraits des Femmes' in 1897, lent by its owner Mr. Ledien. In 1899 it was sold to the United States.

A few years later Velazquez painted the two full-length portraits of Mariana of Austria, also in the Prado Museum (Nos. 1078, 1079), which are almost identical; there is, however, much less animation and spontaneity in No. 1078, which is only a replica by Velazquez. Professor Justi prefers No. 1078, doubtless because he has not had an opportunity of examining these portraits side by side and comparing one with the other.

These portraits differ from the one at Vienna in the colouring, but the pose is the same in both, and the extravagant attire imposed by the taste prevalent in Spain at that time is also identical. In the portrait, numbered 1079 (see Plate LXXIV.), the delicate colour of the head and hands, the silver of the ornaments fastened on the very dark robe, the reds of the knots of the sleeves, the delicate tone of the chair on which the Queen's right hand rests, the refined white of the handkerchief and the carmine of the curtain, are the elements which go to compose one of the most harmonious pictures ever painted by Velazquez. In spite of the disagreeable impression produced by the strange dress of the Queen, it is certainly the best of the master's portraits of women (I may observe here that the number of portraits of women he executed is very small in comparison with those he painted of men); it is also the last known of the portraits of the Queen by Velazquez; for the 'Queen Mariana at Prayer' in the Prado Museum (No. 1082) is, like its companion, the 'King at Prayer,' an old copy, or rather a mediocre work, with effects borrowed from an original of the master.

In 1651 the first child of Philip IV. and Mariana of Austria, the Infanta Margarita, was born. Velazquez painted several charming



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portraits of this little child, and it is she who occupies the place of honour in the famous 'Las Meninas.'

The earliest portrait, and likewise the most beautiful, which exists of this charming Princess is the one (see Plate LXXV.) in the Vienna Museum (No. 615). The Infanta appears to be three years old; she is standing, and wears a pink and silver dress. Her right hand rests on a table on which is a crystal glass with flowers, and which is covered by a blue cloth lighter in tone than the curtain in the background; in her left hand she holds a closed fan. The delightful colour of her flaxen hair blends brilliantly with the delicate pink of her dress and the blue of the background. This portrait is one of the finest inspirations of Velazquez, and perhaps the one which shows to the best advantage his skill as a colourist; it is a perfumed flower of childlike grace.

The next picture in chronological order is the half-length portrait in the Louvre (No. 1371), which is now in the Salon Carré (see Plate LXXVI.).

In the upper part of the picture is the following inscription:—

LINFANTE . MARGVERITE

The Infanta, who seems to be four years old, wears a white robe embroidered with black. Her right hand rests on a chair; the fingers of the left hand have been repainted in consequence of the addition of a strip of canvas to the lower part of the picture. The whole is in the greyish tone so characteristic of Velazquez. It is difficult to give an idea of the delicacy of this face, of the sweet ingenuousness of her look, and of the quality of the reflections on her beautiful hair. The following words of M. de Wyzewa sum up the thoughts which this admirable work suggests:—'The perfect masterpieces brought together in this splendid salon, pale before this child's portrait; none can bear comparison with this painting, so simple and so powerful, which seems only to seek the exterior likeness, and which attains without effort a mysterious beauty of form and colour.'[1]

The portrait at Vienna (No. 619), (see Plate LXXVII.), of which the Staedel Institute of Frankfort has an almost exact replica, which has belonged successively to the Urzaiz, Seville, Péreire, and Paris collections, was executed a little later. The Infanta, six or seven years old, is standing, and wears a greyish-white dress with black trimmings at the neck and on the sleeves, similar to that which she

[1] *Les Grands Peintres de l'Espagne et de l'Angleterre*: Paris, 1891, p. 60.



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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA MARGARITA
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA MARGARITA
PARIS, LOUVRE

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wears in the picture of the 'Meninas,' and probably the same. The hair, instead of being straight as in the 'Meninas,' is curled, and the parting is on the opposite side. The background is a reddish grey. A crimson curtain which falls on an X-shaped chair, on the right of the picture, completes the severe arrangement of the whole.

The head of the Vienna portrait is somewhat damaged, and there are traces of many repaintings; there is, however, more 'brio' and spontaneity in the rest of the picture than in the similar parts of the Frankfort portrait, and from this it may be supposed that the latter picture is a replica, although no less authentic than the original at Vienna.

Both are of a fine tone and are marked by the supreme distinction which characterises the portraits of the last years of Velazquez.

The picture in the Prado Museum, catalogued No. 1084, is, according to the entry, the portrait of Maria Theresa of Austria, afterwards Queen of France. It is certainly one of the most remarkable works of Velazquez (see Plate LXXVIII.). It represents a young girl dressed with a luxury unsuited to her years, a voluminous red and silver crinoline, sleeves with gauze puffs, lace bertha, jewels and bows of ribbon in her hair, and on her breast.

According to Señor P. de Madrazo, the author of the catalogue, this splendid canvas was begun about 1649 on the eve of the departure of Velazquez for Italy. The head would certainly date from that time, for, he says, it bears the imprint of the second manner of the artist. The remainder might have been executed shortly before the marriage of Maria Theresa with Louis XIV.; with the exception of the head, indeed, the whole of the figure and the background certainly belong to the third manner of Velazquez. Professor Justi maintains, with very sound arguments, that the portrait is not that of Maria Theresa, but of the Infanta Margarita. Being convinced that the entire portrait, with the exception of the head, is the work of Velazquez, he supposes that the head might very well have been repainted by another artist in 1664, after the death of the master, when the union of Marguerite with the Emperor Leopold was arranged.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that the head and likewise the hand, although refined and delicate in tone, are not so vigorous, and do not show such masterly skill as the other parts of the picture. Neither do the features recall those of the Queen of France, of whom there are many likenesses extant; on the contrary, they are certainly those of the Infanta Margarita. The proportion between the figure



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and the chair by its side proves that the body was originally surmounted by a younger head. All this induces me to admit Professor Justi's interpretation, and I would add that the repainted parts of the head, hair, and hands betray the style of Mazo; it is probable that this artist, rather than any other, undertook, four years after the death of Velazquez, to alter the features of the Infanta, and to make the modifications in the picture which may be observed to-day. The portrait has already been classified in the Prado Museum as that of the Infanta Margarita.

It is an effective work in which the reds, ranging from light pink to carmine, dominate and blend with the silvery grey of the ornaments and the delicate white of the handkerchief which the Infanta holds in her right hand. The figure stands out from the rich, warm carmine of the background like an exquisite enamel on the velvet of a jewel case. All must admire the marvellous genius of Velazquez, who, thanks to this rich harmony, was able to counterbalance the unpleasant effect produced by the most gigantic crinoline ever painted by him. The silver ornaments of the dress, the delicate tulles of the sleeves embroidered with lilac ribbons, the scarlet bows, and the jewels on her corsage, are passages of incomparable execution.

There is at Vienna a good half-length copy of this portrait (No. 621), attributed to Velazquez, but it cannot be considered as a replica by the master. The only difference between this copy and the portrait at the Prado is in the jewel which adorns the bosom. In the original it is a jewel of fanciful design without any emblem; in the Vienna copy it is the crowned two-headed Eagle, or, in other words, the arms of the House of Austria, and this goes to corroborate the supposition that the personage depicted is the Infanta Margarita, who became the wife of the Emperor Leopold of Austria in 1666.

The Museum at Vienna possesses also another portrait of the same Infanta (No. 609) standing, in a green dress with silver ornaments, also attributed to Velazquez, but, in my opinion, erroneously; it might well be a copy.

The first male issue of the marriage of Philip IV. and his second wife, Mariana of Austria, was Prince Prosper, born in 1657. He was only two years old when Velazquez painted his portrait, but this haste to paint the heir presumptive was not surprising: the birth of the Prince evoked great enthusiasm at Court, where all hope of a male heir had vanished with the death of Don Baltasar Carlos eleven years ago.



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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA MARGARITA
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTA MARGARITA

MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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Philip IV. sent this portrait to Vienna at the same time as that of the Infanta Margarita. 'Prince Philip Prosper' (No. 611 in the Vienna Museum) is standing (see Plate LXXIX.), dressed in a light vermilion and silver suit with a white pinafore. Three toys hang from his waist, one of them being the little bell always carried by children at that time. At his side, on a little dark red arm-chair, is a small white dog, which, if we are to believe Palomino, belonged to Velazquez. The lively expression of the animal contrasts with the melancholy face of the sickly Prince, destined to a premature death, who only survived the execution of his portrait by two years. The contrast is no less great between the different reds of the cushion and the ample curtain which occupies a great part of the foreground and the bloodless face of this weakly infant.

This portrait is one of his finest works. The physical weakness of the model is relieved by the reds of the background and the whites—of different values, though always refined—of the ample pinafore and little dog, which forms the highest light in the picture. It is to be regretted that the restorer who retouched this portrait has given a hard tone to the eyes, nose, and mouth, as was also the case in that of Doña Mariana de Austria in the same museum.

It now only remains, in order to be done with all the known portraits of the last ten years of the life of Velazquez, to examine the two bust portraits of Philip IV., one in the Prado Museum (No. 1080), and the other in the National Gallery (No. 745). The first (see Plate LXXX.) represents the King at the age of about fifty, dressed in a doublet of black silk with a simple collarette. Philip IV. is wearing his hair long; this fashion, which shortly assumed exaggerated proportions, was coming in at that time. Never perhaps had Velazquez so carefully modelled the King's face; compared with the first portrait executed in 1628, the features remain the same, although they have become heavy, and the jaw especially, more prominent. His hair and turned up moustache are as blond as ever; there is not a single thread of silver to be seen; his eyes, on the contrary, are duller and sadder. The free and firm work of the last manner of Velazquez is prevalent in this portrait. In spite of these characteristics, which tend to prove its authenticity, some doubts have recently been raised on this point.[1]

[1] Sir Walter Armstrong (*op. cit.* ii. p. 88) says: 'I confess that to me it seems a copy, painted no doubt in the master's studio.' This critic also supposes that it is a copy with some variations of the bust portrait in London. I cannot but notice this assertion, recalling at the same time that the King appears older in his portrait in London, which proves the priority of the one at Madrid.



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The free and vivacious execution of this fine head is heightened by delicate and clever retouchings at the roots of the hair, at the corners of the eyelids, and on other parts of the face.

There are a great many copies of this head. The best known, although they are very mediocre, are those of the Louvre, the Hermitage, and the Imperial Museum at Vienna.

There is also in the Prado Museum (No. 1077) a portrait of Philip IV. standing, in armour, the head of which has doubtless been taken from the bust portrait. It is a very weak imitation, hesitating in drawing, and of very feeble execution, and ought in consequence to be excluded from the list of authentic works.

In the portrait in London (see Plate LXXXI.), the King appears to be a few years older than in the one at Madrid. The costume is also black, but richer and embroidered with gold; round his neck he wears the insignia of the Golden Fleece. It is a picture of admirable effect, and of an extremely delicate tone, but on close examination, certain signs of haste may be observed, which are rarely met with in the last pictures of Velazquez.

It is known that Velazquez painted, towards the end of his career, several mythological pictures, some destined for the Torre de la Parada in the Pardo, which have been already referred to, and others for the Hall of Mirrors in the Alcazar at Madrid. They represented 'Mercury and Argus,' 'Mars,' 'Psyche and Cupid,' 'Apollo and Marsyas,' and 'Venus and Adonis.' Of the foregoing five pictures the last three, which, together with that of 'Mercury and Argus,' adorned the Hall of Mirrors, were destroyed by fire in 1734, only the first two mentioned being now in existence. He also painted 'The Venus with the Mirror,' long at Rokeby Park, and now in the National Gallery.

The 'Mercury and Argus' in the Prado Museum (No. 1068), (see Plate LXXXII.) decorated, like its pendant the 'Apollo and Marsyas,' a pier of the Room of the Mirrors. Argus is represented asleep, his head on his chest and Mercury is watching for the moment to strike the fatal blow. Behind the group formed by these two figures may be seen the profile of the cow Io, whose head stands out against the sky, the brilliancy of which contrasts with the darkness of the grotto occupied by the principal actors in this scene.

This canvas is of rather an exaggerated oblong form, on account of the shape of the place for which it was destined, and this obliged Velazquez to dispose his figures almost horizontally with their heads low down. The nude passages, notably the legs of Argus, which are



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PORTRAIT OF THE INFANTE PHILIP PROSPER
VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY

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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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more in the light than the rest, are admirably executed, and the picture is kept in a pleasing grey tone strengthened by delicate carmine tints.

The 'Mars' in the Prado Museum (No 1102) (see Plate LXXXIII.) was painted for the Torre de la Parada, where it was placed between the 'Aesop' and 'Menippus,' the rather doubtful philosophers to whom his repellent mien renders him a worthy companion, in spite of the mythological name by which he is dignified. Velazquez never restrained his realistic instinct, not even in the mythological scenes painted at the end of his life; and he shows it with as much vivacity as he did more than twenty years before in his famous 'Borrachos.' Mars, with the exception of his face, is the most classic, both in form and gesture, of all the mythological representations by Velazquez. Seated facing the spectator, and almost nude, the god's head is covered by a helmet, the shadow of which strongly accentuates every rascally trait in his features. He raises his left leg, which is supported on the edge of the couch on which he is seated. A piece of blue drapery is thrown over his waist, and his right hand is hidden under a reddish cloak. At the feet of Mars are a shield, sword, and other warlike accessories. The general disposition of the figure, notably the gesture of his left hand resting on his knee, with his chin in his hand, reminds both Professor Justi and M. Michel of the famous statue of the 'Pensieroso' executed by Michelangelo for the monument of Lorenzo de' Medici. It is a splendid piece of flesh painting, of great strength, and treated in the broadest manner.

The third mythological picture of this period is 'Venus with the Mirror' (see Plate LXXXIV.), whose exhibition in London by Messrs. Agnew and Son, during the two latter months of 1905, caused a great stir in public opinion on account of the endeavour made by the National Art Collections Fund to secure this work for the National Gallery. It was eventually acquired at a cost of £45,000.

From whence the picture came was not quite clearly defined. The first mention made of it is by Don Antonio Ponz in his *Viaje de España*, published in 1776, wherein he describes the paintings in the house of the Duke of Alba. Don Pedro de Madrazo in an article published in the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, 8th November 1874, presumes that 'Venus with the Mirror' is none other than 'Psiquis y Cupido,' which appears in the inventory of the year 1686 of the Royal Alcazar, and adds that, owing to the fire in the Alcazar in 1734, it must have been removed to the house of the Duke of Alba.

Professor Justi, and Curtis, in agreement with Madrazo, ascribe the



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same origin to the picture which I admitted as being correct in the French edition of my book.

Recently I have been able to determine the true origin, and clear up the confusion existing between this picture and that of 'Psiquis y Cupido,' the subject and measurement of which are different from those of the 'Venus with the Mirror.' The latter figures in the inventories of the collections of Don Gaspar Mendez de Haro, son of the famous Don Luis Mendez de Haro, Marquis of Carpio and Heliche, minister and favourite of Philip IV. from the time of the fall of his uncle the Conde-Duque de Olivares in 1648. The inventories were made, one in Rome in 1682, and another in Naples in 1688. In these inventories there appears the picture of the Venus mentioned in the following terms, 'A life-size Venus, reclining nude, and a child holding a mirror in which she sees herself. The picture of the Venus is an original of Don Diego Velazquez.'

The picture of the Venus therefore did not belong to the Alcazar Palace as Madrazo thought, but to the Mendez de Haro family.

By the marriage of Doña Catalina de Haro y Guzman, daughter of Don Gaspar with the Duke of Alba in 1688 the property of the Haro family reverted to the House of Alba, and with it the picture of the Venus of Velazquez. In 1802, at the death of the renowned Duchess of Alba, whose portrait was so often painted by Goya, at the Court of Charles IV., by testamentary disposition of this lady part of her property was bequeathed to personal friends, who were therefore not her legitimate heirs.

This brought about a lawsuit at the instance of the successor to the titles and estate of the house of Alba, who was the Duke of Berwick, Liria, and Jerica, and during the lawsuit the King, Charles IV., issued an order that the three pictures in question should be sold to his prime minister and favourite Don Manuel Godoy, Principe de la Paz. These three pictures were 'The Madonna of the House of Alba,' by Raphael, 'The School of Love,' by Correggio, and the 'Venus with the Mirror.'

After the fall of the Principe de la Paz in 1808 the Venus was sold to Mr. Wallis, the agent of the well known dealer in pictures, Mr. Buchanan, in 1813, and on the advice of Sir Thomas Lawrence it was bought from Mr. Buchanan by Mr. Morritt for £500.

From that time up till October 1905 this picture has held the place of honour in Rokeby Park, with the exception of the two occasions on



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PORTRAIT OF KING PHILIP IV
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

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MERCURY AND ARGUS
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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which it has been exhibited to the public, in Manchester in 1857, and in Burlington House in 1890 at the exhibition of Old Masters.

The painting of a nude female subject probably brought upon Velazquez a certain amount of disfavour from the prudes and bigots of the Court. It is, however, well to remember that the painter was educated, or rather brought up, in Seville, under the influence and theories of his master and father-in-law Pacheco, whose views are plainly manifest in that passage of his famous book *Arte de la pintura* (The Art of Painting) dealing with the painting of the nude. Here the author finds himself, as Menendez y Pelayo rightly puts it in his *History of Aesthetical Ideas*, in a serious predicament between decency and modesty, not so much from a Christian painter's point of view, but as a congregationalist or member of a religious brotherhood, and solves the difficulty by the curious proposition of taking from life faces and hands of chaste women (this, according to the author, not offering any danger), and utilising for the remainder bold paintings, prints, and new models, ancient and modern statues, and the excellent outlines of Albert Dürer. But the days of his apprenticeship with Pacheco were very distant from those in which the 'Venus' was painted, which, by the way, was not the only nude subject of a woman that appears amongst the works of Velazquez, because in the 'Venus and Adonis,' and in the 'Psyche and Cupid,' the female subjects were probably no more clothed than was the case in the 'Venus with the Mirror.' Velazquez had lived at Court, seeing and admiring in the royal palaces the Venuses and Bacchantes by Titian, and the nude subjects by Rubens, so rich in colour and form. The picture of 'Jupiter and Antiope,' by Correggio, at present in the Louvre, known under the title 'The Venus of the Pardo,' and erroneously attributed in Spain to Titian, was, of all his rich collections, the most prized relic of that pious monarch Philip III., and held in such high esteem that it was presented by Philip IV. to the unfortunate Prince of Wales, later Charles I. of England, shortly after Velazquez's entry at Court. And, if the influence of the surroundings in which the painter passed his life after he had left Seville had not been sufficient to cause him to deviate from modesty in the practice of his art, according to the teachings or doctrine of Pacheco, those two voyages to Italy decidedly were likely to do so, dedicated as they were to the contemplation and study of the Greek and Roman sculptures, and the great works they had inspired in the masters of the Italian Renaissance.

The 'Venus with the Mirror' was without doubt painted after the



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last of the above-mentioned journeys. Convincing proof of this is afforded by all the details which enter into the composition of the picture, as well as by the technique, characteristic as that is of the latter years of the painter.

Venus, entirely undraped, and lying on a bed, turns her back to the spectator. She contemplates herself in an ebony-mounted mirror which is held by a Cupid kneeling on her bed. The graceful curve of her body is relieved against a grey drapery which contrasts with other white draperies and the end of a greenish veil; in the background is a dark red curtain which heightens the light tones of the flesh. The principal part of the work is the body of Venus, which Velazquez has interpreted with the conscientiousness and regard for truth which he put into all his works; indeed so great is his fidelity that the deformation of the waist, caused doubtless by the use of a tight corset, may be observed. The legs, on the other hand, of charming form and colour, are the most successful parts of the work. The Cupid in the middle distance, who gracefully inclines his head, recalls the figure of Mars by his reddish tint; he is in the shade, and this new harmony, quieter than that of the foreground, adds to the general effect. It has been said that the face of Venus, but vaguely reflected in the mirror, is the same as that of one of the figures in the celebrated 'Spinners' (Hilanderas). Everything in this canvas tends to show that it was executed at the same time as the 'Mercury and Argus' and the 'Mars.' The three pictures are painted in exactly the same tones, and by a certain preponderance of purple tones also resemble the 'Coronation of the Virgin' soon to be described. The execution is no less broad in this case than in the two other mythological scenes, but it is carried further and is more careful. In short, it is one of the principal works of the master, and, with the exception of some of the portraits in Rome, Vienna, and London, already described, it is the most important picture by Velazquez outside the Prado Museum.



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MARS

MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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VENUS WITH THE MIRROR
LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

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# CHAPTER X

Special characteristics of the 'Spinners' and the 'Meninas'; the exceptional importance of these pictures in the work of the artist—Papers relative to the admission of Velazquez into the Order of Santiago—The artist's last portrait—Religious pictures of this period: 'The Coronation of the Virgin' and 'Saint Antony the Abbot visiting Saint Paul the Hermit' or 'The Holy Hermits.'

AMONG the most characteristic and individual works of Velazquez, there are none which are so celebrated as the 'Spinners' and the 'Meninas.' These canvases were painted during the last ten years of his life, and probably at the end of that period. Both are representations of everyday life interpreted in the most truthful manner. In addition to this, the subjects which struck the painter's attention were not transposed, as was, and is still, the usual custom, for, instead of reproducing the scenes in his studio with illumination *ad hoc*, and by means of professional models, Velazquez painted them on the spot after the manner of an instantaneous photograph. The light in the picture was the real light which bathed the scene, and the models were the real actors in it. This innovation in the art of painting, to which for a long time the critics paid no attention, is one of the reasons which nowadays lead us to consider Velazquez as the greatest of innovators. And that is why all artists who seek the first source of their inspiration in the direct study of nature, look upon him as their leader.[1] The picture of the 'Spinners' (see Plate LXXXV.) (No. 1061 in the Prado Museum) represents the interior of one of those workshops for the manufacture of tapestry, which existed in those days, in the Calle de Santa Isabel. Velazquez must often have gone there, as much in the course of his duties at the Court, as on account of the artistic importance of this manufacture. The workshop communicates by means of an archway with another small room, the floor of which is raised like the stage of a theatre.

[1] Mr. Stevenson (*op. cit.* p. 18) says that the 'Meninas' is 'an absolutely unique thing in the history of art.' According to this author, the 'Meninas,' the 'Spinners,' and other works in the last manner of the master are impressionistic compositions.



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In the first room are five figures which form various groups; there are two women engaged in the work. The chief interest is centred on two of them in the foreground; an old woman, who is spinning at a wheel, and a young girl, busy disentangling a skein, with her back turned towards the spectator. This latter is the finest and most pleasing figure in the work. The young work-girl wears a chemise and a green petticoat, but a portion of her beautiful white shoulders, her neck, arms, and her left leg are bare. This charming spinner is the high light of the picture, which is almost entirely in half light.

In the small room in the background a scene presents itself which bears no relation to that in the foreground. Brightly lighted by the rays of sunshine, which penetrate through an unseen side window, three ladies, elegantly dressed, are examining a piece of tapestry with a mythological subject depicted on it, hung from the ceiling of the room, which also contains a violoncello leaning against a stool. One of the visitors turns with a graceful movement, and seems to be looking at something or somebody in front of her.

The contrast between the lighting and the subjects of these two scenes, the disposition of the groups, which are so naturally balanced, the diversity of harmonies, the admirable play of light and shade, and above all the faithfulness and animation with which the movements of the spinners are rendered, make this picture the most brightly coloured, and the most animated of all the works of Velazquez. Mengs says of it that it is the will alone which has painted it; Charles Blanc says that 'never has nature been interpreted with such magic as in the figure of the young work-girl seen from behind, who is bending breathlessly over her task.' Señor P. de Madrazo, in an article published in *L'Art*,[1] thus sums up the observations which he devotes to the atmospheric effects in this canvas. 'In virtue of I know not what law of optics, unknown to other painters, the surrounding atmosphere interposed between the spectator and the canvas combines with the work of the artist, and finishes off so wonderfully the strokes of the brush left by him in an unfinished state, that the confusion which seems to reign when the surface of the picture is viewed near at hand, disappears, and all becomes plain as the spectator retires from the picture. Then space opens out before your eyes, the canvas deepens; and there, where there was but a single smudged and confused plane, you perceive the different distances of a vast scene; the

[1] 'Quelques Velazquez du Musée de Madrid: "Les Fileuses."'—(*L'Art*, 1878, vol. iv.).



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THE TAPESTRY-WORKERS (LAS HILANDERAS)
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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THE MAIDS OF HONOUR (LAS MENINAS)
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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uncertain and opaque colour of the first mist changes into atmosphere; life begins,' etc.

The canvas on which Velazquez began his picture was smaller than it is now; two strips have been added to the sides of the original canvas, and another larger strip to the upper part of the picture. These additions must not be attributed to any insufficiency in the dimensions of the canvas, as is the case in nearly all the great pictures by the master; if we compare the preparation of the original canvas with that of the strips added later we find that the first is thicker than that generally used by Velazquez; it is evident, therefore, that the canvas in its entirety was not all prepared at once. Unfortunately the picture has been very much restored, especially at the sides and in the lower part; it is probable that it was injured in the fire of 1784. The excessive heat must have cracked the paint so that some repair was necessary; the traces of this restoration are visible in the minute network produced by the cracks, the furrows of which have been filled with fresh colours which have changed with time. These repaintings, especially apparent near the stitches which unite the various parts of the canvas, have disfigured the original work to such an extent that some have supposed the upper and lateral strips to have been added at a later date. The original picture of Velazquez, therefore, in this case, would only have included the central part of the composition. I do not share this view, for, if the light spot of the archway in the background is suppressed the most telling effect of its perspective is removed. Besides, without this adjunct, there would be less space above the figures, and it is well known that Velazquez, in some of the pictures of his last manner, affected this expedient, which enabled him to give the illusion of atmosphere with greater facility.[1]

The picture of the 'Spinners' is a singularly beautiful work, and would take precedence among the last productions of Velazquez, if a still finer work had not come to rival it; we mean the picture (No. 1062 in the Prado Museum) universally known by the name of the 'Meninas.'

This canvas (see Plate LXXXVI.) represents a scene at Court, the principal figure being that of the Infanta Margarita at the age of five or six, a fact which enables us to name the year 1656 or 1657 as the date of the execution of this picture. The Infanta occupies the centre of the composition; she is attired in the same white dress already described

[1] A similar arrangement is to be observed in the 'Meninas' and the 'Hermits.'



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when discussing the Frankfort and Vienna portraits, and is accompanied by her two Meninas or maids of honour. One of them, Doña Agustina Sarmiento (see Plate LXXXVII.), kneeling before the Infanta, offers her a 'bucaro' (flagon), while the other, Doña Isabel de Velasco, stands at her left side. On the right of the table, in the foreground, is a group composed of two of the Court dwarfs, Mari Barbola, a perfect monster, one of the most repugnant types of the whole collection, and Nicolasico Pertusato, a dwarf with hydrocephalic head and stunted body, who is teasing with his foot a huge mastiff crouched, half asleep, in front of the dwarfs. The opposite end of the picture is occupied by a large canvas placed on an easel in front of which is Velazquez himself with his palette, brushes, and mahl-stick; the artist is looking at his models, whose features are reflected in a mirror at the end of the room, and who are none other than those of King Philip IV. and Queen Mariana of Austria. In the middle distance, in shadow, Doña Marcela de Ulloa, a lady-in-waiting wearing a mantle, is engaged in conversation with a 'Guardadamas'; and finally, quite in the background on the threshold of a large open door, brightly illuminated by a concentrated light, which contrasts with the subdued daylight of the rest of the scene, appears the 'Aposentador' of the Queen, Don José Nieto. The place where these persons are grouped is the Prince's room, where Velazquez had his studio.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the eulogies evoked by this picture, which Luca Giordano has called the theology of painting, and Sir Thomas Lawrence in his letter to Wilkie (27th November 1827), 'the true philosophy of art, the collection of essentials, of all which first and last strike the eyes and senses of the spectator.' At the sight of this purely familiar and intimate scene, where nothing of an extraordinary nature is taking place, the observer, puzzled by the simplicity which at the same time charms him, asks himself first of all: 'What was the painter's aim? Did he simply wish to paint the portrait of the Infanta Marguerite, who is the central and most brilliantly lighted figure in the picture, the other parts of the picture being accessories? Was this singular canvas suggested to Velazquez by the entry of the Infanta, escorted by the two Meninas of her suite, whilst he was engaged in painting the King and Queen, as the mirror in the background leads us to believe? Or was the idea suggested by the King and Queen who, placed with regard to the real scene as the spectator is to the actual picture, found the subject to their taste?' Whatever may have been the genesis of this picture, it is beyond



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DETAIL FROM 'LAS MENINAS'

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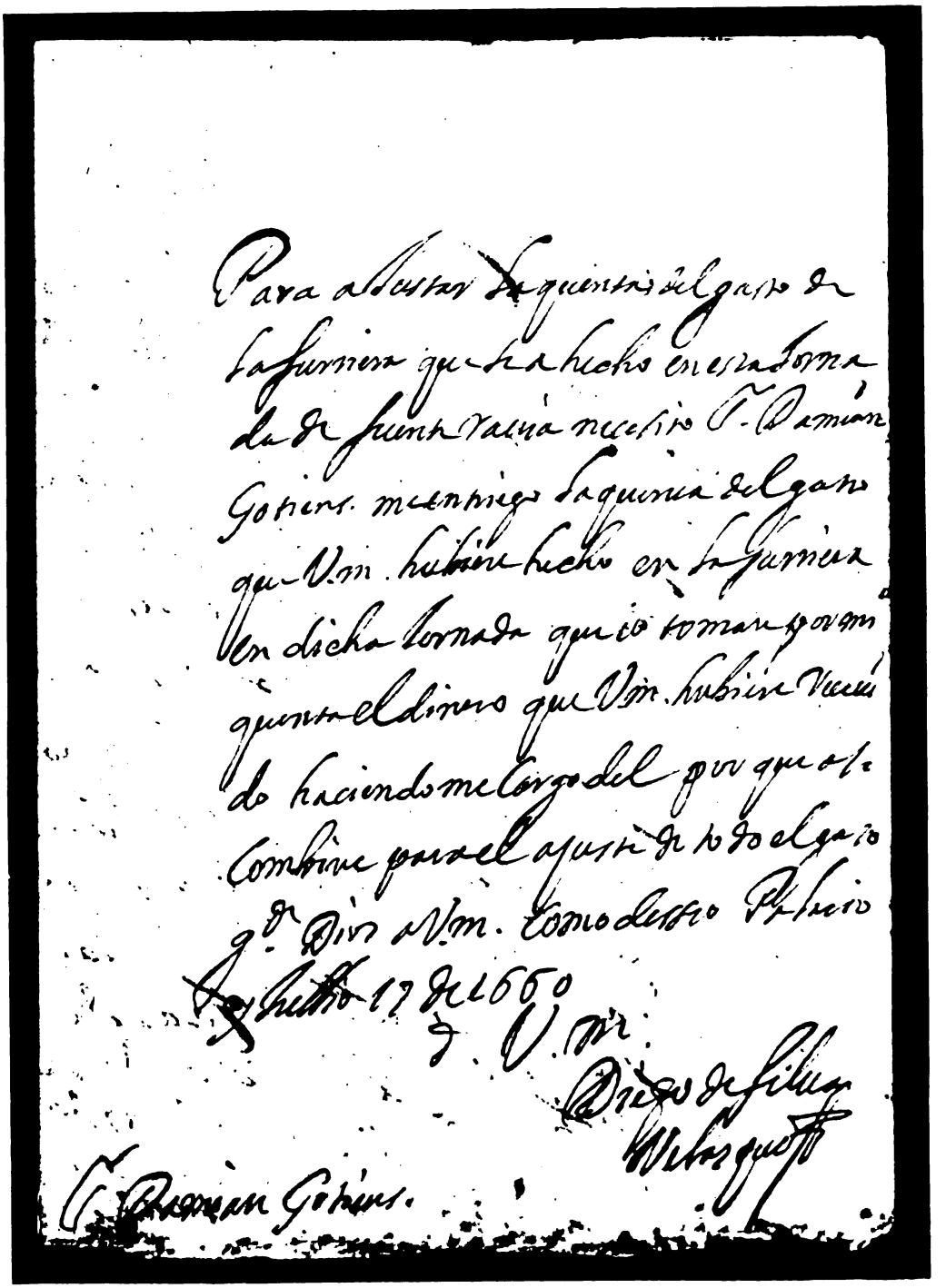

Para ajustar la quenta del gasto de
la furriera que ha hecho en esta Jorna
da de Fuenterabia necesito S. Damian
Gobiern. mentirosa la quenta del gasto
que V.m. hubiere hecho en la furriera
en dicha Jornada que io tomare por vm
quenta el dinero que Vm. hubiere Vuelto
de haciendome Cargo del por que es lo
Conbiene para el ajuste de todo el gasto
q.e Dios V.m. Como deseo Pedro
Fecho 17 de 1660 a. V.m.
Diego de Silva
Velazquez
S. Damian Gobiern.

FACSIMILE AUTOGRAPH OF VELAZQUEZ

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doubt that Velazquez could not have found a subject better fitted to his aptitudes, or one which could have enabled him to show them in such a masterly manner. Velazquez, a realist by temperament and education, surpassed himself in this work, to such a degree that anybody who looks at this picture carefully under favourable conditions of light and distance, may believe himself to be actually present at the scene which is there represented.

How completely this picture confutes the large number of people who measure the importance of works of art by the importance of their subject! How many historical or religious paintings, how many set-pieces have we forgotten, while the freshness of this homelike scene remains unfading in our memory! It is because the picture of the 'Meninas' moves us in a manner absolutely independent of the subject it represents. And, as the different elements of this painting, lines, colouring, proportions, light and shade, etc., have no other aim than art in itself, it follows that their attraction for us can lose nothing of its intensity.

It must not, however, be imagined from these considerations that the first scene which happens to present itself is sufficient to inspire a masterpiece. If such is the case here, it is because Velazquez managed to arrange in the most harmonious fashion the different parts of the composition, disposing his colour in the most ingenious way, varying his light so as to concentrate the interest on the figure of the Infanta standing out from the half tones which fill the room, and to quicken the obscurity in which the studio is plunged by means of the two luminous spots in the background; the mirror and the brilliant light which enters by the door. Last of all, what gives such a great air of faithfulness to the picture, is the unusual disproportion which exists between the figures and the height of the canvas. The empty space, above their heads, is sufficient to allow us to see the ceiling, of which the lines and the surprising modelling help to give the illusion of depth and atmosphere. Let me add that the work is exceedingly skilful, confused when viewed close at hand, but most striking in effect when seen from a distance, that the relationship of values has been ably estimated, and we have but expressed a small part of what there is to be said to explain the absorbing enigma of this picture. The result obtained by Velazquez is so marvellous that it is not astonishing that this work has been considered as 'the most perfect study of colour and values which exists.'[1]

[1] 'The Museum of the Prado.' By Royal Cortissoz.—(*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, May, 1895.)



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The following legend is connected with the 'Meninas': When Velazquez had finished the picture, Philip IV. pointed out to him that something was wanting to complete it, and taking the palette and brushes from the master, he painted the cross of the Order of Santiago on the doublet of the figure of Velazquez. It was known, however, in Palomino's day that this cross was added to the picture by order of the King after the death of the artist. I am now in a position to explain clearly everything connected with this cross, thanks to certain documents in the National Historical Archives published by Señor Cruzada Villaamil,[1] and above all to other documents, so far unpublished, of the secret archives of the Spanish Military Orders,[2] also to be found at the present time in the same Historical Archives. By drawing on these two sources I have been enabled to reconstruct the true history of this matter, which is as follows.

Philip IV. signed, on June 12th, 1658, a royal 'cédula' granting the Knighthood of Santiago to Diego Velazquez, and charging the council of the Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara to make inquiry relative to the nobility of the new Knight, in conformity with the rules of the order. On July 15th, Velazquez produced his genealogy written by his own hand. The same day the Council decided that a double inquiry should be made, at Monterey and Tuy, on the border of Galicia, with reference to those of his ancestors who were natives of Oporto, and at Seville, the birthplace of the artist himself and his maternal ancestors. About three months later, the 3rd of October, Don Gaspar de Fuensalida, the King's recorder, deposited a sum of three hundred silver ducats (about £33 of our money) to defray the indispensable expenses of the inquiry and proofs. There is every reason to believe that the great artist did not possess this sum, since he was obliged to have recourse to his friend's purse. The examination of the proofs lasted several months, and a great number of sheets were filled with the declarations made by more than a hundred witnesses from the different parts of Galicia to which the commissioners of the Council went. These latter completed their inquiry at Madrid and Seville. At Madrid, among others, the painters Alonso Cano, Carreño, and Zurbaran gave evidence, as well as another less well-known artist, Angelo Nardi, the same with whom Velazquez had contended thirty-one years

[1] In his *Anales*, which I have so often quoted.

[2] These interesting documents, several of them autographs of Velazquez, have been extensively published in *The Review of Archives and Museums*, in May 1899 and July 1902, by Don Francisco de Uhagón, Marques de Laurencin, an extract of which, published in the French edition of this work, I owe to his courtesy.



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previously when painting 'The Expulsion of the Moriscos,' mention of which was made in the second chapter.

From this crowd of declarations, all more or less alike, it is only necessary to quote a few dispositions of this nature: 'The witness has never heard that Velazquez exercised the craft of painter, nor that he had ever sold a picture; he only practised his art for his own pleasure and in order to obey the King, for whom he decorated the Palace, and at whose Court he fulfilled many honourable duties.' These phrases, extracts from the deposition of Alonso Cano, are repeated in the testimonies of the other painters, and generally in nearly all the depositions, notably in those of the Marquis of Malpica, Don Felix Machado de Silva, Marquis of Montebello, a noble Portuguese of rare intelligence, the Marquis of Montalban, etc. Yet all the while there existed at that time in the archives of the Palace, where they were still to be found a short time ago, documents relative to the sums paid to Velazquez at different times as the prices of his pictures. It is true that the smallness of these sums is so ridiculous that the prejudices of a régime which despised all labour, even if it were such an artistic one as the exercise of the art of painting, appear to us contemptible.

In spite of the hypocrisy with which it was endeavoured to prove the nobility of Velazquez, in spite of the unanimity of the depositions, the members of the Council were not entirely satisfied, since, after the termination of the inquiry, they drew up on February 26th, 1659, a report in the terms of which 'they approved of the age, "limpieza" (pureness of blood), and lineage, but found fault with the nobility of both the paternal and maternal ancestors as well as the nobility of the "varonía" (male lineage).' Velazquez, in reply, produced a document establishing the fact that his parents, at Seville, had been exempt from the 'blanca de la carne,' a tribute which the nobles never paid, but the Council was not to be moved; it delivered, on April 2nd, a decree unfavourable to the artist, in consequence of which the King begged a dispensation from Pope Alexander VII., in default of nobility.

The papers relative to this affair, which are kept in the National Historical Archives, and come from the Castle of Uclès, the property of the Order of Santiago, contain the following note drawn up on the cover: 'His Holiness's brief arrived on July 29th, 1659, and, in consequence, the garb of the order was delivered to Velazquez that same day.' Cruzada Villaamil, who was ignorant of the existence of other documents in the secret archives of the orders, relies on this note, which was doubtless added to the papers by some one who was ignorant



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of the course of events. This critic, therefore, is wrong when he contradicts the assertion of Palomino, who affirms that Velazquez received the order on November 28th, 1658.

But, in fact, neither of these biographers is right. The brief, of which the original is still preserved, was sent by the Pope from Albano on the 7th of October 1659. This act was granted to the King, who had humbly begged for the necessary dispensation, in order that Velazquez might receive the dress of the order in spite of the lack of nobility of his ancestors. On receipt of the brief the Council of the Orders pointed out to the King that the sending of the dress to Velazquez must be preceded by the promulgation of a 'cédula' conferring 'hidalguía' (nobility) upon him. This resolution was signed on November 2nd, 1659, and the same day, a fact to be observed, the King drew up the following cédula: 'As King and natural Lord who recognise none superior among all men temporal, by my own initiative, my infallible wisdom, and my royal and absolute power, I create "hijodalgo" the said Diego de Silva, but only on account of urgent entreaty.' A day before these documents were sent out, that is, November 27th, 1659, the members of the Council gave orders that the dress of the order of Santiago should be delivered to Velazquez. How much better would the emphatic declaration of the King have been if, instead of creating Velazquez a nobleman at the end of the proceedings, he had done so at the beginning, and thus granted him the coveted garb of Santiago! How many humiliations and trouble of all kinds, suffered resignedly by the painter in the course of one year and a half, would he thus have been spared! How different the reality from what tradition has related, according to which Philip IV. added with his own hands the cross of Santiago to the portrait of Velazquez in the 'Meninas'!

The Velazquez whom we see in the 'Meninas' is a man of elegant, but unaffected mien, engaged in painting; he is standing, and wears a black court suit. I suspect that here, as well as in the bust portrait at Valencia, the thick hair of the master is but a wig.

There is not the least trace of those celebrated long brushes with which, if we are to believe Palomino, Velazquez created his marvels; the brushes are fine and of ordinary dimensions. The palette, from which so many have tried to discover the master's technique, is small and only a few colours can be distinguished on it, namely, vermilion, white, seville earth, ochre, and carmine; there is an indication of three or four dark colours, which may be between black and the browns, but blue and yellow, which Velazquez certainly employed, are lacking;



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THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN
MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM

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DETAIL FROM 'THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN'

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thus the palette shown in the 'Meninas' does not contain the complete scale of the colours employed by the master. It may be affirmed, however, in view of the simplicity of his method and the facility of his technique, that the elements of his art were far from being complicated.

During the last ten years of his life, Velazquez also turned to the religious type of pictures. The Prado Museum contains two specimens: 'The Coronation of the Virgin' (No. 1056) and 'Saint Antony visiting Saint Paul' (No. 1057), or 'The Holy Hermits.'

The first of these pictures (see Plates LXXXIX. and XC.) was destined for the Oratory of Queen Mariana. The Virgin, a figure of great beauty and perfect dignity, is seated on clouds between the Father and the Son, who are in the act of placing a crown of flowers on her head. Above, in the symbolic form of a dove, the Holy Ghost appears surrounded by a halo. Two angels are holding the mantle of the Virgin, whose downcast lids hide her eyes. The fingers of her charming right hand, which Mary is holding to her breast, blend delicately with the surrounding tones, an effect which may be seen in certain hands by El Greco, as Professor Justi has rightly remarked. The Virgin is wearing a blue mantle and carmine tunic. There is less nobility in the figures of the Father and Son, who both wear cloaks, carmine like the Virgin's tunic, and purple robes. Velazquez has seldom been more inspired than in the four blonde heads of seraphim with dark wings in the lower part of the canvas.

Justi finds fault with the discord produced, in his opinion, by the contrast between the violet, blue, and purple tones which predominate in this picture; while M. Lefort, on the contrary, extols the consummate art with which Velazquez has employed the whole scale of reds and blues, limiting himself, almost exclusively, to the use of these colours, combined with silvery greys of great delicacy and brilliancy, the result, in his opinion, being a harmonious whole of wonderful charm. And it is indeed one of the very few canvases of Velazquez in which he master wished to appear as a colourist, employing the violent pposition of brilliant tones instead of the dull tints rich in grey ıarmonies, which were usual to him.

If we did not know that this picture was destined for the oratory of Queen Mariana, and that it ought in consequence to be placed among the last productions of the artist, and if we were left to judge the approximate date of its execution by the appearance of the picture itself, as far as its technique and colouring are concerned, we should rank it as contemporary with the 'Mars' and the 'Mercury and Argus.'



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Velazquez painted the second of the religious pictures of this period at the end of the year 1659, 'Saint Antony and Saint Paul' (see Plate XCI.), destined for the hermitage of Saint Antony of the Buen Retiro. Everything leads us to believe that this was his last work, for it is scarcely probable that during the last few months of his life, which ended in 1660, he could have been able to paint at all, so numerous were the duties imposed upon him.

The Saints are seated in a landscape, the foreground of which is occupied by an enormous rock, which recalls by its strange shape the crags characteristic of Montserrat, where Velazquez perhaps went to study his subject, and the background of which is composed of a mountainous panorama through which winds a stream. Saint Paul, the first hermit, at the age of a hundred and thirteen years, barely covered by a whitish tunic, raises his venerable head, full of admirable expression, towards the sky. The eyes and the rest of the hermit's features show remarkable finish, a trait rarely found in the last productions of the master. The undraped parts of this inspired figure are worthy of the head, although they are not quite so highly finished. The nonagenarian Saint Antony wears a brown tunic and black cloak; like his companion, his head is raised and he is looking at the miraculous raven which is bringing him a loaf in its beak. In the background, in imitation of the composition of the early masters, are represented various scenes in the lives of the two Saints. A birch-tree with its trunk partly covered with ivy, at the foot of which are several plants, whose botanical classification could easily be established, so great is the precision of their execution, completes the accessories of this masterpiece.

Velazquez, though accustomed to represent life-sized figures, accommodated himself with great skill to the representation of figures of considerably smaller dimensions; and, by the perfection of his drawing and the sublimity of his execution, was able to treat them in a very broad manner. Here, as in the 'Meninas,' the proportion existing between the figures and the rest of the picture adds greatly to the effect of the whole.

Everything is pleasing in this work: the faces of the hermits, their hands and draperies. In these parts the paint is laid on thickly, while the remainder of the canvas is only covered with a light coat of colour which scarcely hides the preparation of the canvas, especially in the landscape, and in the varied and brilliant sky. These exquisitely delicate blues which give charm to the backgrounds of Velazquez are equally predominant here, but how much lighter and more diaphanous!



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ST. ANTHONY AND ST. PAUL (THE HOLY HERMITS)
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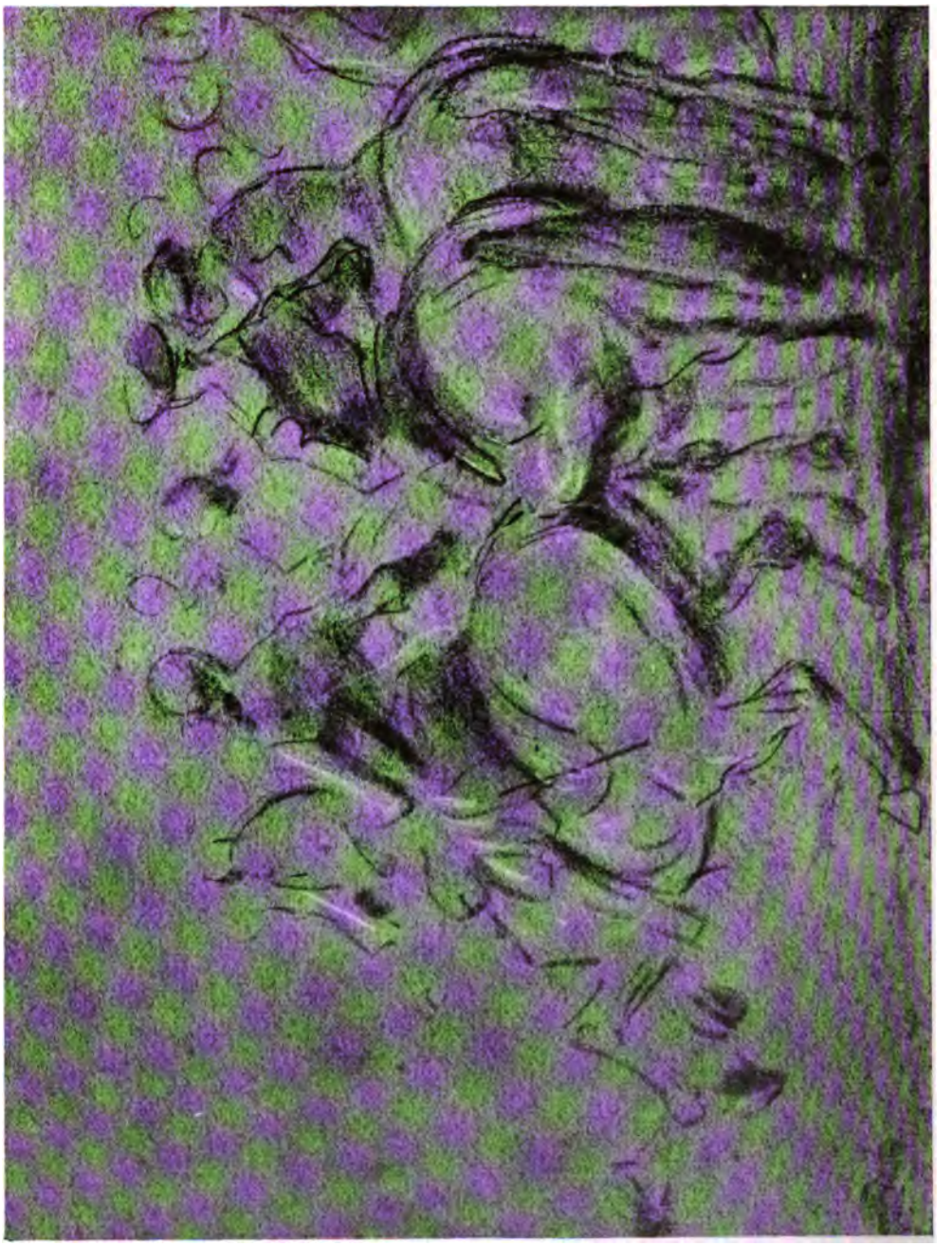

DRAWING
LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

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It might be said that in this landscape of bluish mountains, with the river at the bottom of the valley and surrounding trees, all painted like a water-colour, making transparent the grey tints of the canvas, the master had, two centuries in advance, got into line with what is known as the impressionist school.

Wilkie, a fervent admirer of the master, exclaimed, when referring to this picture, that Velazquez 'possessed the real sun which lights us, the air which we breathe, the soul and spirit of nature.'

This venerable pair of poor old men, mystic in expression, one almost naked, and the other austerely dressed, who stand out from an imposing background of rocks, is the happiest expression of human renunciation. In contrast to all the works of his last manner, which were of such free execution, Velazquez painted the heads of the Saints with special care and finish, a proof of the interest which the artist took in his work. In devoting himself to his picture; in instilling into it, more than into any other, the quintessence of his genius, Velazquez, no doubt, obeyed some special motive. He had passed nearly forty years in the company of kings and the great ones of the earth, who were his usual models; in his quality as Court painter and Grand Marshal at the Court he had presided over the luxurious decoration of the royal residences and organised splendid *fêtes* at the Buen Retiro, and even whilst working on this picture he was occupied with his journey to Irun, where he had to prepare the lodging of his Sovereign, and to the Island of Pheasants, in order to decorate the pavilion destined for the royal nuptials and the interview between Philip IV. and Louis XIV., whose Court was the most magnificent in Europe. In the midst of so much ostentation and splendour he lived from hand to mouth, always worried, obliged at every moment to beg the payment of his salary and to carry on perpetual strife with the great and small functionaries of the Palace. It is not surprising that under the weight of such impressions, deeply felt and pondered on with the mature mind of one who has arrived at the decline of life, Velazquez should find in the episode in the life of the first anchorite, as related by Saint Jerome in one of his 'Epistles,' a subject in harmony with his state of mind, and consequently one to which he ardently devoted himself. He doubtless found more pleasure in representing the poor tunic of Saint Paul than he had ever found in painting the splendid purple of kings.



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# CHAPTER XI

Scarcity of drawings by Velazquez—Collections where they are to be found—Only two engravings by Velazquez are known, one an etching and the other engraved by the 'burin'—The character of Velazquez, inferred from official, in the absence of more intimate documents—His relations with his fellow artists—Memorandum of the pictures taken to the Monastery of the Escurial by Diego Velazquez—History of this memorandum; different opinions upon it; it must be considered apocryphal—Velazquez's journey to the Pyrenees on the occasion of the marriage of the Infanta Maria Teresa de Austria with Louis XIV.—His return to Madrid—Illness of Velazquez—His death on August 6th, 1660, at the age of sixty-one—Death of his wife Juana Pacheco—The sequestration of the possessions of Velazquez and their complete restoration six years afterwards—The best known pupils of Velazquez; his influence on his contemporaries.

EVERY biographer of Velazquez, even at the present day, meets with two inexplicable gaps which are obstacles to the complete knowledge of the man and the artist; the first is the almost entire disappearance of his correspondence, as mentioned in Chapter VI.; and the second the surprising rarity of drawings and sketches by his hand. How is this to be explained? Can Velazquez have executed his pictures without the help of preliminary studies, or even a sketch of the composition? I am inclined to believe it, for even whilst admitting the carelessness of the majority of those who possessed his drawings, it is hardly probable that almost all could have gone astray. In Spain it is only possible to regard as authentic the two somewhat unimportant sketches at Madrid, one in the National Library,[1] and the other and better one in the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando. Among the better-known drawings of the Jovellanos Institute at Gijon, one of them, done with a pen, represents a coach drawn by two horses, seen from behind; another, in red chalk, of Mars, although the figure is in a different position from that in the picture.

[1] This drawing represents the back view of a figure which recalls the page who is holding Spinola's horse in 'The Lances.' On the other side, there is an indication of the figure of Spinola, and some almost entirely effaced features, in which may be traced a sketch of the head of this personage.



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DRAWING
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I do not think they are authentic. I am rather inclined to believe in the authenticity of another in this collection which served as a study for the figure of the angel in the painting 'Christ at the Column,' in the National Gallery. In the Louvre a slight sketch of a part of 'The Lances' is attributed to Velazquez. M. Lefort classes this drawing as doubtful, and he maintains that it is a drawing made from the finished picture, and not a first idea. I share the same opinion.

Of the seven drawings (nine including the two from the Malcolm Collection) in the British Museum, there are only two which I regard as genuine. The first (1881-6-11-37), on blue paper, represents some horsemen seen from behind (see Pl. XCII.), it is a drawing of great character, firm, and well designed, although rather faded; the other (50-10-14-101), represents a horseman with a horse sketched above (see Pl. XCIII.).

The Albertina Collection at Vienna also possesses several drawings attributed to Velazquez, but it is not possible to admit their authenticity. One of them, a charming water-colour sketch, which represents a young man of elegant appearance, a prince or a noble lord, betrays the characteristic style of Van Dyck rather than of Velazquez.

The same doubts arise with regard to the drawings attributed to Velazquez in the Dresden Gallery, in the Uffizi at Florence, and in the Wicar Museum at Lille. Too great importance must not be attached to the drawing in the Malcolm Collection, which represents a child in a shirt seen from behind, and in the act of painting. The attribution, indeed, is based less on the qualities of the drawing than on a note, not by the hand of Velazquez, but written in his day, which runs thus: 'De mano de Diego Velazquez.'

In short, it may be said that up to this time only about five or six authentic drawings by Velazquez are known, and none of them is of any real importance. It is evident, and Pacheco assures us it is so, that Velazquez did more drawing at the beginning of his career; but as soon as he had thoroughly acquired the elements of drawing, he probably gave up its practice, preferring to trace at once on the canvas the lines of his composition, and afterwards make with the brush the corrections and retouches whose existence may be observed to-day in the majority of his works.

Engravings by Velazquez are even rarer than his drawings. M. Lefort, who has made a special study of this branch of his work, only mentions two attempts of this kind, one an etching retouched with a



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graving tool, and the other an engraving by the burin. Both represent the Count-Duke of Olivares; the former came from the collection of Ceán Bermudez, and belongs to the Cabinet of Prints at Berlin; the latter is in the National Library in Madrid.

If the scarcity of drawings by the master leaves us undecided as to the genesis of his works, and as to the methods employed, the almost complete disappearance of his correspondence casts a veil over everything connected with his character and attainments; and, at present, for want of more precise information, we are obliged to have recourse to his pictures and the official documents already mentioned, dry sources of information which supply but little.

It may be inferred from the perusal of these documents that Velazquez was of a gentle, affable, and patient disposition. Otherwise, how can we explain his long-suffering in waiting for the payment of his salary after so many appeals? Traits of generosity are also related of him in his dealings with his comrades Ribera, Alonso Cano, Zurbaran, Carreño, and others, whom he often brought to the notice of the King, either that he might buy their works, or that he might entrust them with the decoration of palaces and churches. In 1643, when Murillo came to Madrid, Velazquez behaved in a most affectionate manner towards him, gave him much advice, and obtained for him access to the palaces of the Alcazar and Buen Retiro, where, in the absence of the King, who was engaged in war in Aragon and Catalonia, Murillo had the opportunity of making all kinds of copies and studies during the two years which he spent in the capital. The teaching of so great a master soon bore its fruits; for it is from this epoch that the first great works of Murillo date.

This lack of letters and writings by Velazquez contributed to give considerable importance to the discovery of the description or *Memoir* which, according to the biographer Palomino, Velazquez drew up of the forty-one pictures taken to the Escurial by order of the King. This famous *Memoir* detailed the qualities of each of the pictures, gave their history, and indicated the place which they ought to occupy in the monastery, the whole, according to Palomino, 'with an elegance and critical feeling' which showed the learning of the author and his knowledge of the art. It was not known what became of this report, or whether it had been printed, until the learned writer Don Adolfo de Castro, of Cadiz, declared in 1871 that he had found a copy printed at Rome in 1658, by Juan de Alfaro, a pupil of Velazquez. Senor de Castro extols the literary merits of Velazquez, merits of which the



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artist was so unaware 'that he never put pen to paper except at the King's express wish.'[1]

This copy was presented to the Academy by Señor de Castro, and that illustrious body decided, at the meeting of the 23rd March 1871, that Diego Velazquez should be included among the number of writers recognised as authorities by the Academy, and that they should publish in their *Proceedings* the notice by Señor de Castro, the copy which he found, and the supplementary remarks which he thought it useful to add. In 1874 Baron Davillier published a reprint of this *Memoir* with a French translation, notes, and an etching by Fortuny after the portrait of Velazquez by himself in the Valencia Museum, as a frontispiece.

Several of the biographers of Velazquez have made a careful study of this *Memoir*. Cruzada Villaamil in his *Anales*, which I have so often quoted, puts forward the very convincing reasons which led him to doubt the authenticity of this document. Here are a few of them. The cover contains a serious error. Alfaro there gives Velazquez the title of Knight of Santiago; now, it was only in 1659, that is to say, a year after the supposed printing of the book, that the master was admitted into the order. All that relates to the first twenty-four paintings is a reproduction less methodical, not so polished in style, and less scholarly, of some passages in a book called *Description of the Royal Monastery of Saint Lawrence of the Escurial*, by Father Francisco de los Santos. Again, the judgments passed by the author of the *Memoir* on the pictures he describes, are sometimes somewhat puzzling. How could Velazquez have placed the 'Perla' which, according to Cruzada Villaamil, is falsely attributed to Raphael, above some of the other pictures? How could he affirm that this picture 'surpasses everything and deserves the place of honour,' compared to so authentic and important a canvas by Raphael as the 'Madonna del Pesce'? Cruzada Villaamil maintains, in short, that even if the *Memoir* were really genuine, it would not throw much light upon the numerous points which remain obscure to us in the character of Velazquez.

[1] *Memorias de la Academia Española*, Madrid, 1871, vol. iii. p. 479 *et seq.* This is the title of the copy presented to the Academy by Señor de Castro: 'Memoria de las pinturas que la Majestad Catholica del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Philippe IV. embia al Monasterio de San Laurencio el Real del Escorial, este año de MDCLVI, descriptas y colocadas por Diego de Sylva Velazquez, cavallero del Orden de Santiago, Ayuda de Camara de Su Majestad, Aposentador mayor de Su Imperial Palacio, Ayuda de la Guarda Ropa, Ugier de Camara, Superintendente extraordinario de las obras reales y pintor de Camara, Apeles de este siglo. La ofrece, dedica y consagra á la posteridad Don Ivan de Alfaro. Impresa en Roma, en la officina de Ludovico Grignano año de MDCLVIII.'



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Professor Justi devotes a long and important chapter of his book to the examination of the *Memoir* in question, and he displays his critical acumen in his analysis of the characteristics and peculiarities of Señor de Castro's discovery. He states first of all, in agreement with Cruzado Villaamil, that the contents of the book do not present any element of novelty, as in 1657 Father Francisco de los Santos had already published his description of the Monastery of the Escurial. Could it be, he says, not without irony, that young Alfaro, who was eighteen years old at the time of the printing of the *Memoir*, angry with Father Francisco de los Santos, and more jealous of the fame of the author than the author himself, wished to claim for his master the glory of the work. But, if the object of Alfaro's publication was, as is maintained, to assure for Velazquez the authorship of the *Memoir*, said to have been plagiarised by Father Francisco de los Santos, he did not obtain it till two hundred years later. Professor Justi adds that the book soon disappeared, that no mention was anywhere made of it, and that Palomino, who employed in his researches papers left him by Alfaro, does not make the slightest allusion to it. A series of very ingenious reasonings leads the German critic to doubt whether any shameless plagiarism on the part of Father Francisco de los Santos had really been perpetrated. If so why did he not, after the pretended publication of the *Memoir* by Alfaro, attempt to explain in the later edition of his work the silence which he kept at first? The opportunity presented itself in the edition of 1681, in the description of 'Joseph's Coat,' by Velazquez, for which he could not find high enough praise.

Professor Justi then sifts by a careful analysis the text itself of the *Memoir*, he notices some mistakes, and justly remarks that the tone of the explanatory notices is hyberbolical, laudatory to excess, and forced. The terminology also he finds more aesthetic than artistic; in short, it is rather the language of a devout person greatly impressed by these pictures than that of an artist who analyses their merits. Taking into consideration the peculiarities of the text and the mystery which reigns as to the publication of this *Memoir*, he shows it to be possible that it was written after the pretended date of its printing, for, after all, he says, it is a mere nothing in the special art of making sham antiquities to compose a book with some sheets of paper of the period and the remains of an old printing machine. Justi thus explains the manifold singularities of this *Memoir*. One of them, and that not the least important, already observed by Cruzada Villaamil, is the attribution to



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Velazquez, on the cover of the book, of an order which the master was not entitled to wear until 1659; another is the enumeration of lesser duties which Velazquez had formerly held at Court, but which he no longer exercised. These and other similar considerations justify the doubts which the eminent biographer of Velazquez puts forth with regard to the authenticity of the *Memoir*.

The well-known writer Señor Menendez y Pelayo, however, admitted its authenticity, and he comments upon and describes the work in his *History of Aesthetic Ideas in Spain*.[1] I should add, nevertheless, that he has since changed his opinion, and that, thanks to his perspicacity and erudition in matters of bibliography, he has found new and brilliant arguments in support of the thesis of Cruzada Villaamil and Justi. He considers that the work presented by Señor de Castro to the Spanish Academy was published after the date it bears, and he is inclined to believe, after an examination of the characteristics of the printing, that the *Memoir* was published towards the middle of the eighteenth century, an epoch in which many similar forgeries were made. In addition to this, the volume is not preceded either by licences or prefaces, contrary to the rule in vogue in the time of Philip IV. It may therefore be, according to Señor Menendez y Pelayo, that a lover of art of the eighteenth century (perhaps Count de Saceda, who was prone to this kind of mystification) extracted from the book by Los Santos the descriptions of the pictures in question, and, after having considerably curtailed them, fabricated the work attributed to Velazquez, a work of which only one copy is known, probably the only one printed, and of which no one had spoken until then.

Señor Menendez y Pelayo suspects, nevertheless, that Father de los Santos might very well have been inspired by a manuscript by Velazquez, which has been lost. Besides, might not the falsification have been suggested to its author by Palomino's passage relative to this manuscript? In any case, as we know that the work of Palomino was published in 1724, this date would serve to define the true date of the publication of the forged *Memoir*.

It might be said that these varied and substantial reasonings exhaust the question. I must, however, add, that for my part, even before the publication of the works whose judgments relative to the *Memoir* we have just recorded, the authenticity of this *Memoir* appeared to me to be more than doubtful. And this opinion was founded upon an examination of the text itself, of which the descriptions and appre-

[1] Vol. ii. p. 638.



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ciations are, with few exceptions, unworthy of an artist, and especially of such an artist as Velazquez. Either the author of the *Memoir* was not sufficiently familiar with painting, or else his judgments were made at random, set forth without conviction, and in cut-and-dried phrases. My feeling, therefore, on a final analysis, is that even if the appreciations founded on the *Memoir* itself are discounted, it is sufficient to study it in the presence of the pictures it describes, the majority of which are in the Prado Museum or at the Escurial, to feel sure that, even if it had been an original work, it was neither written, nor inspired, by Velazquez.

The speed with which the last documents relative to his receiving the order of Santiago were sent out (see the preceding Chapter) is an indication of the hurry which Philip IV. was in to see all the difficulties opposing this formality cleared away. There is an evident connection between the Sovereign's impatience and the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which was followed by the marriage of the Infanta Maria Theresa with Louis XIV. In the opinion of Philip IV. Velazquez, who, in his quality of Grand Marshal of the Court, was charged with the arrangements of the ceremonies to which these negotiations would give rise, ought to be invested with some special honour, for we have already seen the low estimation in which he, in his capacity as painter, was held at the Court. The Grand Marshal therefore left Madrid on April 8th, 1660, for Irun.[1] The arrangements for the journey of the King and his suite, and the preparation of the Isle of Pheasants for the festivities which were to signalise the meeting between the Spanish and French Courts were in his charge.

In the course of this journey to the Pyrenees, the private life of the painter is lost in the incidents and episodes of the royal wedding, described in interesting and curious memoirs of the time. Palomino says of Velazquez, on this occasion, 'that he was by no means deficient in attention to the magnificent adornment of his person.'

On his return Velazquez stopped at Valladolid, a fact proved, among other documents, by a letter which he sent from Madrid to the painter Diego Valentin Diaz, and which we reproduce, because it is one of the few letters which we possess of the master:[2]

[1] Not in March, as Palomino and Ceán Bermudez affirm. The exact date is supplied by a document in the Archives of the Palace published by Señor Zarco del Valle in vol. LV. of *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España.*

[2] The Spanish text is as follows: 'SEÑOR MIO,—Holgaré mucho halle esta á V.M. con la buena salud que le deseo y asimismo á mi Señora Doña Maria. Yo Sr. llegué á esta corte sábado á el amanecer 26 de Junio cansado de caminar de noche y trabajar de dia pero con salud, y gracias



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'Señor Mio,—I should be charmed if this letter finds your Honour in good health, as well as Doña Maria. As for myself, Señor, I arrived at Madrid on Saturday, June 26, at daybreak, tired with travelling by night and working by day, but in good health, and, thank God, all my family as well. His Majesty the King arrived the same day, and the Queen went to receive him at the Casa de Campo, whence they went to Our Lady of Atocha. The Queen is looking very pretty, and our Sovereign Prince also looks very well. On Wednesday there was a bull fight in the Plaza Mayor, but without horsemen; the fête was, therefore, very simple, and we thought of the one at Valladolid. Please let me hear of your health, and of Doña Maria's, and tell me in what I can be of service to you, for you will find me always at your command. Please remember me very kindly to my friend Tomas de Peña, whom on account of my many occupations, and my rapid return, I was not able to see. Nothing is going on here of interest to you, unless it is that I pray God to preserve you for many years, as is my desire.

'Madrid, July 3, 1660,

'Your honour's

'Diego de Silva Velazquez,

'Q. s. m. b. (Who kisses your hand).

'Señor Diego Valentin Diaz.'

This Diego Valentin Diaz was a painter, and a friend of Pacheco, who, to judge from certain religious pictures in the Museum of Valladolid, imitated the Italians, and was not inferior to a number of artists who have obtained more celebrity.

Velazquez says, in this letter, that he arrived home 'tired with travelling by night and working by day, but in good health.' He tells us nothing of what we learn from Palomino, that 'when he arrived home his family and friends received him with more amazement than joy, for the report of his death had been spread abroad in Madrid; so that they could scarcely believe their eyes. It was like the omen of an approaching death.'

Death overtook him forty days after his return to Madrid. Palomino relates that on July 31st, after having worked with the King, Velazquez felt tired and feverish, and was obliged to go home by the gallery which led to his apartments. He complained of violent pain

á Dios hallé mi casa con ella. S.M. llegó el mismo dia y la Reina le salió á recibir á la Casa de Campo y desde alli fueron á Na. Sa. de Atocha; la Reina está muy linda y el Principe No. Sr. El miércoles pasado hubo toros en la Plaza Mayor pero sin caballeros con que fué una fiesta simple y nos acordamos de la de Valladolid. V. M. me avise de su salud y de la de mi Señora Doña Maria y me mande en que le sirva que siempre me tendrá muy suio. A el amigo Tomas de Peña dé V. M. de mi parte muchos recados, que como io andube tan ocupado y me bine tan de prisa no le pude ver, por acá no hay cosa de que poder avisar á V. M. sino que Dios me le guarde muchos años como deseo.

'Madrid, y Jullio 3 de 1660.

'D. V. M.

'q. s. m. b.

'Diego de Silva Velazquez.

'Sr. Diego Valentin Diaz.'



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in his stomach and heart. The invalid was at first attended by Doctor Vicencio Moles, the doctor of the employés of the Court, and then by two Court physicians, Don Miguel de Alva and Don Pedro de Chavarri, who were sent by the King, and who, knowing the gravity of the illness, diagnosed it as the beginning of an 'acute tertian syncopal fever.' The Archbishop of Tyre, Don Alfonso Perez de Guzman el Bueno, went to see him by the King's order, and delivered him a long homily intended for his spiritual consolation. At last, on Friday, August 6, 1660, at two o'clock in the afternoon, after having received the sacraments of the Church, and appointing his intimate friend, Don Gaspar de Fuensalida, to be the executor of his will, he delivered up his soul to God, who had created it to be the admiration of the world. He was then at the age of sixty-one years and two months.

According to Palomino, the body was clothed in the dress of the Knights of Santiago, a cloak with the red insignia embroidered on the breast, hat, sword, boots, and spurs; candles burnt on each side of the body, and a crucifix was placed on an improvised altar. The day after his death, that is, Saturday evening, his mortal remains were taken on a bier of black velvet relieved with gold, to the Parish Church of San Juan Bautista. The funeral ceremony was very solemn; the band and bandmaster of the Royal Chapel took part in it, and a number of nobles, Court gentlemen, and functionaries were present. The coffin was carried by men to the vault of Don Gaspar de Fuensalida, who, in proof of his affection, thus offered him this last hospitality.

An inscription, composed in honour of his master by Juan de Alfaro, was placed on his tomb. Seven days after the death of Velazquez, Juana Pacheco, his wife, breathed her last. She was buried near her husband. Biographers have not noticed this coincidence; but could anything be more eloquent than this inability to survive the beloved husband of more than forty-two years of common life and passionate attachment?

The remains of the artist disappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, at the demolition of the Parish Church of San Juan, which adjoined the still existing Church of Santiago. I cannot find words strong enough to condemn such a profanation. Nevertheless, we must be thankful that, in spite of the wreck in which so many of the art treasures of Spain have perished, the majority of the admirable works of Velazquez, after having miraculously escaped the various fires at the Alcazar, still survive.



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The Junta of the 'Obras y Bosques' decided, on August 15th, that is, nine days after the death of Velazquez, that the payment of a thousand ducats which he had received as superintendent of the works of the Alcazar, should be returned to the Junta. The King made no decree as to the matter of this proposition; he simply wrote on the margin, 'I am most distressed.' Indeed, he had good reason to be. He was responsible for having employed Velazquez, ever since his entry into the Court in 1623, for duties quite incompatible with his artistic work, and having thus put serious impediments in the way of his genius; and who knows whether this fatiguing life, aggravated by the cares of the journey to the Pyrenees, did not contribute to accelerate the death of the master? Besides, the King's pretended distress did not prevent him, four days after the death of Velazquez, from having the Prince's room opened where the artist had his studio (the one which figures in the 'Meninas'), in order to seize all there was in it. The winding up of the accounts of the late 'aposentador' had indeed revealed very considerable liabilities;[1] on this account claims were made by the 'Bureo' against his family, and, after a hasty survey, seizure was made not only of the contents of the studio of Velazquez, but also of property in his own house. The affair dragged out its weary length, and it was not until after six years, and after innumerable resolutions, notes, etc., that the embargo was withdrawn which had been so arbitrarily imposed, and the honour and memory of Velazquez thus freed from all blemish.

Juan Bautista del Mazo replaced his father-in-law as painter to the King, during the period of a little over six years which he outlived him. Like Velazquez, he too suffered from the caprice of fortune, for he lived in penury owing to unpunctuality in the payment of his reduced salary; and he also lost several of his numerous children, as well as his two wives, Francisca, the daughter of Velazquez, who died in her father's lifetime, and his second wife, Ana de la Vega.

Apart from his great talent in imitation, which makes him the pupil who best adapted to himself the qualities of the master, he had an originality of his own which entitles him to greater recognition.

He revealed his talent especially in the painting of landscapes, of

[1] The documents relative to this affair have been published by Don M. R. Zarco del Valle in the *Colección de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*. Madrid, 1870, vol. lv. They have also been reproduced in the *Anales* of Señor Cruzada Villaamil.



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which there are twenty in the Prado Museum, amongst them seven already mentioned in the third chapter, and the best praise that can be given them is that until now they have been catalogued by all art critics as originals of Velazquez. Even up to the present day they figure in the Prado Catalogue under the name of Velazquez.

In the course of this work I have pointed out that various portraits and pictures, which I believe are Mazo's, are attributed to Velazquez in museums and private collections, and have also noticed the peculiar traits of these works, lacking as they are in masterly design, poor also in the setting and disposition of groups and figures, and of a more opaque colour than those of the master.

Amongst his portraits, special mention must be made of the one in the gallery of Count Harrach, of Vienna, of a boy dressed as a cardinal, according to Professor Justi as a canon, to which this renowned critic devotes a chapter in the second edition of his work, in addition to reproducing the picture. In his opinion this portrait is the best work of Mazo. The pose of the boy is identical with that of the beautiful portrait of the Infanta Margarita in Vienna (No. 615). Identical also is the placing of the table with its cover and the glass of flowers on it, although the colouring of the dress and accessories is different. Although agreeing with the renowned Professor of Bonn that the painting is by Mazo, I cannot agree that the personage depicted is the second son of the Spanish Ambassador, Count Harrach Francisco Antonio, born October 4th, 1665, who was Archbishop of Salzburg, in which Cathedral his portrait may be found. How, then, could he be the original of the portrait in the Harrach Gallery, seeing that it was painted, according to Justi, about 1672, and Mazo died in 1667? A further difficulty is, that, as the same critic states, the Harrach family only came to Spain for the first time in 1672. The error originates on account of taking the date given by Ceán Bermudez of the death of Mazo 1687 as correct, the true date of his death being the 10th of February 1667, according to the register of deaths for that year kept in the parish of St. Gines, in Madrid, where he was buried.[1]

[1] This book, begun on the 1st January 1653, and ending 29th December 1671, contains in the month of February 1667 an entry of death, as follows: Juan Bautista del Mazo, widower of Doña (here a faded word) de la Vega, died Thursday, tenth of February, of sixty-seven, in the 'Casa del Thesoro,' parish of San Juan, being duly certified and buried in this church in a grave of his own property. Given by Ropto. and M . . . O . 12.



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Less happily gifted than Mazo was Juan de Pareja, another pupil of Velazquez, and one of those who most nearly approached him. As has been already stated, he entered his service as a slave, and even after he had obtained his liberty he was his faithful companion until his death. His picture in the Prado Museum, 'The Calling of Saint Matthew' (No. 935), a work of his maturity, is a commonplace composition, equally weak in colour and drawing. There is more brilliancy in some of his portraits, where one may find traces of the teaching of Velazquez.

José Leonardo, although the pupil of Caxes, must be mentioned in the list of imitators of Velazquez. To be assured of this, it is only necessary to examine his picture in the Prado Museum, 'The Surrender of Breda,' the same subject which inspired 'The Lances.' Leonardo's picture was painted, according to appearances, some time before 'The Lances,' and there is no relation between it and the masterpiece of Velazquez, unless it is in the composition; but there are here and there in this picture, and in the few works of Leonardo which are preserved, some parts which recall other passages by Velazquez. This, however, detracts nothing from the merit of Leonardo, who was certainly gifted with great talent, the development of which was unfortunately interrupted by his premature death.

Murillo cannot be considered as one of the pupils of Velazquez. He was, however, as I have already said, subject to the beneficent influence of the master; it is easy to observe it in the famous series of the 'Life of San Diego de Alcalà,' executed on his return from Madrid. After this evolution in the direction of the style of Velazquez, Murillo turned towards the Flemings, whose colouring captivated him, and he ended by acquiring an original style in the interpretation of religious subjects.

Don Juan Carreño de Miranda, is, with Mazo, the painter of the period who did his master the greatest credit, and, although he notoriously imitated him in certain Court portraits, it must be acknowledged that in many other portraits he reveals great individuality, which is still more apparent in his numerous religious pictures, which approach, both in style and colour, to those of Van Dyck. It is to be regretted that Carreño did not carry his drawing further. His canvases, even the best, are weak in this direction.

Juan de Alfaro was also a pupil of Velazquez for some time. His celebrity is derived less from his talent than from the information about his master which he gave Palomino for his biography of the



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great Spanish painter. Another of his claims to recognition is that he painted the only likeness of Calderon, the portrait which is now above the tomb of the great dramatist in the Church of San Pedro de los Naturales in Madrid. It is to be regretted that Velazquez did not also leave us a portrait of this genius.

Velazquez influenced a number of his contemporaries, Zurbaran, for example, several of whose pictures have been classed with those in the first manner of the master.

Alonso Cano has two pictures in the Prado Museum, representing, according to the Catalogue, Kings seated on their thrones, which contain some passages treated precisely in the manner of Velazquez. The brothers Rizi, painters of less independence than Zurbaran and Alonso Cano, also fell under the influence of the master. The carefulness of their imitation is especially visible in the work of the elder of the brothers, Father Juan Rizi, and, à propos of this, it is only necessary to recall what was said in Chapter v. about the portrait of Don Tiburcio de Redin, falsely attributed to Mazo, and executed beyond doubt by Father Juan Rizi. This confusion has been occasioned by a certain similarity between the style of these two painters who both attempted to copy Velazquez.

Claudio Coello is the latest in date of the painters of this period who can be cited as among the number of pupils or imitators of Velazquez. There is in our opinion no need to notice any other artists who have been regarded as such.[1] Coello was a Court painter, like Mazo and Carreño; he became famous by his religious pictures, and acquired a just celebrity with the one which is known under the designation of 'The Divine Form,' painted for the Monastery of the Escurial, where it still is to-day. There is something in the expression and truthfulness of the heads, in the disposition of the groups, and in the airy perspective of this canvas, which recalls, though very distantly, the execution of Velazquez. It is, nevertheless, the last of the great Spanish compositions of the seventeenth century, so fertile in masterpieces. The arrival in Spain, in 1692, of the Italian Luca Giordano marks the introduction of a new and mannered style quite opposed to the national one which had prevailed till then. Giordano, singularly skilful in copying the methods of the painters most opposed to his

[1] The biographers include among the pupils of Velazquez the painters Aguiar, Burgos y Mantilla, Palacios, Puga, Villacis and Juan de la Corte, almost all unknown artists, except the last two, of whom Villacis painted religious pictures at Murcia, and the other, Juan de la Corte, painted battle scenes, landscapes and perspectives.



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decadent art, made several imitations of Ribera, and even of Velazquez,[1] and the profound admiration with which these essentially Spanish masters inspired him is well known.

[1] As a specimen of the skill with which Giordano imitated the manner of Ribera, I may mention among others the 'Death of Seneca' in the Munich Pinakothek (No. 1281), a picture till recently attributed to Spagnoletto, and with reference to which the catalogue now mentions that Herr Bayersdorfer believes it to be a forgery by Luca Giordano: an opinion which I share. The imitations of Velazquez by Giordano are rarer; I believe, however, that the picture in the National Gallery (No. 1434 entitled 'A Betrothal) is an imitation of Velazquez by the Italian painter; this picture, recently presented to the Gallery by Lord Savile, is certainly of a date subsequent to the death of the master, in spite of its attribution to Velazquez. There is in a corner of this composition a figure which appears to be pointing out the principal scene to the spectator; it is the portrait of Giordano himself, as may be ascertained by comparing it with the figure in the fresco by the same painter on the ceiling of the sacristy of Toledo Cathedral.



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## CHAPTER XII

**The limited production of Velazquez—Different judgments bearing on the value and importance of the artist—Velazquez represents the art of the Renaissance modified in the direction of the realism native to Spanish genius and temperament—The balance of the various qualities of Velazquez—Velazquez is not a colourist, but his harmonies are of the highest distinction and originality, and it is in this direction that his influence on modern painters is greatest—His independence as an artist—No trace of weakness or mannerism in his work—Simplicity of his technique—Conclusion.**

IN the course of the preceding chapters I have passed in review those pictures of Velazquez which I believe to be authentic, and thus obtain a total of eighty-nine original works, without reckoning a score of pictures which are included in the inventories of the royal palaces of Spain and have since disappeared. I give also at the end of this book a list of works which have been lost, placed after that of pictures still in existence, and arranged in an approximately chronological order. Even if we add to this list several pictures considered authentic by Palomino, Ponz, and Ceán Bermudez, all traces of which have been lost, we arrive at a figure which would appear low, (even taking into account that the master's career was somewhat short) in comparison with the production of many other artists. The explanation is very simple. Velazquez never had an independent life. We have already seen that he entered the Court at the age of twenty-four, more as a servant of the King than a painter, and, from that time, the exercise of his manifold duties hindered him in the practice of his art. As he rose in rank in the Palace his occupations became more overwhelming; he was obliged to perform duties which took up his time and interrupted his work. In short, during the last eight years of his life, after he was appointed Grand Marshal of the Palace, he had to face so much care and responsibility that in his case the artist disappeared almost entirely in the official.

Putting aside this prosaic side of the master's existence, the moment has come, now we are in the presence of all his work, to ask: What is



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Velazquez? What does he represent? What is his real meaning? What part does he play in the history of art?

In order fully to satisfy the legitimate interest which these questions awaken, and to reply worthily to them, it would be necessary to have more space at my disposal than the few pages I am able to devote to them; I must therefore limit myself to condensing the matter as well as I can.

The works of the master remained almost unknown, hidden away as they were in the royal residences of Spain, until the time when Raphael Mengs, the celebrated painter of Charles III., made them known to the rest of Europe a little more than a century ago. Mengs styled Velazquez the first of 'naturalistes,' and since that time the opinions expressed on our artist are without number. That remarkable Scottish painter, Sir David Wilkie, wrote in 1828, that before the works of Velazquez he felt himself in the presence of a new artistic power. After the meagre Spanish biographies of Pacheco, Palomino and Ceán Bermudez, Stirling-Maxwell was the first foreigner to publish the life of Velazquez. Enthusiastic in his admiration of Velazquez, Stirling-Maxwell, who extols his powers as a realistic painter, extends the range of his genius to other spheres and exclaims before the 'Christ on the Cross': 'Never was that great agony more powerfully depicted.' Waagen, discussing the sincerity of Velazquez in the representation of objects, the vivacity of his conceptions, the truth of his drawing and colour, the breadth and freedom of his style, assigns him, in these qualities at least, the first place among painters. Ruskin proclaims the excellence of his technique, and adds that all those who devote themselves to painting ought to follow the faultless methods of Velazquez. Charles Blanc says that Velazquez would be the greatest of painters if painting was a second creation.

Admiration for Velazquez has been growing steadily in our time. The illustrious Taine, who did not know the great pictures of the Prado Museum, coming across the portrait in the Palazzo Doria at Rome, described it with such a masterly and picturesque conciseness that we cannot refrain from quoting the passage. 'The masterpiece among all these portraits is that of Pope Innocent x. by Velazquez; on a red arm-chair, in front of a red hanging, under a red cap and surmounting a red cloak, is a red face, the face of a poor simpleton, of a worn out pedant; and out of these behold an unforgettable picture!'[1]

Professor Justi, in his excellent work on the master, says, that

[1] *Voyage en Italie*, vol. ii. Paris: Hachette and Co.



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compared with Velazquez, Titian appears conventional, Rembrandt fantastic, and Rubens tainted with a mannerism at variance with fidelity. M. Lefort devotes the first chapter of his book to the study of the affinities which exist between the art of Velazquez and modern aesthetic tendencies. The character of this work, he says, presents so many perfect points of similarity with the ideal of precision and simplicity inaugurated by modern landscape painters and followed by nearly all the schools of contemporary painting, that modern art will certainly find in Velazquez the teaching and the means of expression which are best suited to its aspirations. Velazquez is, therefore, the forerunner, the initiator of modern art, and he is so much in advance of his day that he seems rather to belong to ours.

Shortly after these assertions by M. Lefort, Lord Leighton proclaimed Velazquez the most remarkable initiator since Leonardo da Vinci, together with, perhaps, his contemporary Rembrandt; he praised his majestic and inimitable simplicity, and hailed in him the most modern of all the old masters. M. Émile Michel, in his interesting article adds: 'Everything in his work hangs together, follows in natural order, and is closely connected. On account also of this perfect naturalness, there is no other master intercourse with whom seems to us more healthy, and whose teaching is more profitable. . . . One is defenceless against such constant and absolute sincerity; one admires him so much that one even runs the risk of becoming unjust to others who seem, by reason of the respect for tradition which they have cherished, to have lost something of that independence of view which Velazquez always had when painting from nature.'

I have already quoted the work of Mr. R. A. M. Stevenson, which is more recent than that of M. Émile Michel. Whole passages might be taken from it which proclaim Velazquez as the greatest forerunner of modern art, and which minutely study the influence he has exercised upon several of the greatest of contemporary artists: 'To see the Prado is to modify one's opinion of the novelty of recent art. Landscape and even landscape with figures may be more independent of the past, but figure painting certainly owes much to Velazquez. Whether directly or indirectly, whether consciously or unconsciously, artists have decided, after half a century of exploration, to follow the path of Velazquez. Not that they have plagiarised, but that in the natural growth of ideas the seed of thought has been blown from Spain to every part of the world.'

M. Élie Faure in the interesting work dedicated to the master



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says, 'it has the sereneness of Nature. . . . Together with the author of Don Quixote, Velazquez has widened the boundaries of his country to the confines of the earth and the voice of his race to all existing time. . . . No one since the time of Phidias has like him preserved before the world this respectful gravity and conscious enthusiasm which is the true religion. He possesses the harmony in which Phidias was lacking, and it is this harmony which makes him a brother to Beethoven. Like the musician and like the sculptor, he possesses the supreme virtue, heroic simplicity.'

It would be an interminable task to give here all the judgments of this kind, and, from considerations of impartiality, I have refrained from quoting Spanish critics, who might be suspected of being prejudiced in favour of their compatriot. The quotations given suffice to show the amplitude of the subject, which is in proportion to the ever-increasing number of admirers of Velazquez. This admiration springs from an element of profundity hidden in the works of the master, a vague something which does not strike one at first, which is beyond the reach of the casual observer, and which, consequently, criticism is powerless to explain, for nothing is more difficult than to determine the causes of aesthetic emotions. And so criticism keeps silence in the majority of cases, and this is the best spirit in which to approach the contemplation of works of art, in whose presence the spectator should be guided only by his own feeling.

These considerations have led me to set aside, while examining in detail the works of the great *naturaliste* who is the object of this study, all that was not within the province of description and purely external analysis. A *naturaliste par excellence*—that is the designation commonly applied to Velazquez; but Velazquez is more than that. A mere representation of the real, however skilful, however masterly it may be, does not impress us in the same degree as do the works of the master. He was certainly the most powerful exponent of national art in the realistic seventeenth century; but he was at the same time, as far as this movement was compatible with Spanish race and temperament, the most emphatic representative of the art of the Renaissance, which till then had not reached its full development in Spain. Spanish painters before the time of Velazquez who proclaim themselves sons of the Renaissance are but the pale reflections of the Italians and Flemings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or rather, the cold imitators of these great masters. The Greek genius which had remained dormant during so many centuries, and which,



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since its reappearance in Italy had inspired so many masterpieces, was slow to take root in Spain, and was obliged, when it appeared, to adapt itself to the sentiment and tendencies of the country, which were more naturalistic than ideal. Velazquez represented the naturalistic tendency of his race with as much constancy of purpose as did those of his contemporaries, who, like Ribera or Zurbaran, went furthest in this direction; but while he was yet the most faithful interpreter of nature he ennobled it, and thus attained the level of the great artists of the Renaissance. Thus it is that the portrait of Innocent x., figuring in Rome in company with the decadent productions of the middle of the seventeenth century, evokes, to the great surprise of every one, the memory of the giants of art. Velazquez, a *naturaliste* by instinct and temperament, was the most perfectly classic painter of all the Spaniards, his representation of nature does not stop short at transitory and perishable form, but attempts to penetrate to its essence; and it is by instinct, not by the spirit of imitation, that he thus works. In the 'Borrachos' and other mythological scenes he avoids the conventionality customary to this style of painting; and his interpretation, though very realistic in appearance, is, to every close observer, the work of a synthetic genius, who, while respecting the truth, seeks the ideal expression suitable to each of the types represented, a proceeding which is purely classic and purely Greek. The 'Water Carrier of Seville,' the Court Dwarfs, and the Vagrants whom he painted, reveal a similar tendency on the master's part to rise from the purely realistic interpretation of the individual to the generic expression of character. Velazquez would not have been able to attain such a high idealisation if he had not been an accomplished draughtsman. That is his most striking gift. We have already observed it in the presence of each of his masterpieces: the drawing is always faultless. This faculty, which is so difficult and so tedious of acquisition, was, so to say, natural to him, for it is as apparent and as indisputable in his earliest works, such as the 'Adoration of the Magi' and the 'Water Carrier of Seville' as in his latest productions. Now, Velazquez was not twenty-four years old when these two canvases revealed his precocious mastery of drawing. By his personal style of interpreting nature he stands out from among the great masters, and from among his equals and most clever imitators. Nobody has surpassed him in the stability and *aplomb* which all the personages of his paintings display, and few have been able to attain it without falling into affectation. In his rendering of the outline of



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figures, he has wisely chosen to do away with all useless details, and to select only the purely essential for the realisation of the work.

As for his other qualities, they are so wisely balanced that no one prevails to the detriment of the others: natural simplicity of composition, harmony of colouring, lifelike but always majestic expression in the faces, exquisite taste in arrangement—everything is balanced in the happiest manner, and the apogee of art is thus attained.

Velazquez cannot be placed among the great colourists in the strict sense of the word. An eminent critic of Spanish art[1] has said that 'Velazquez would be very inferior to what he is in reality if he had the colouring of Rubens. Rubens's colouring is conventional, and the principal characteristic of Velazquez, that which constitutes the essence of his genius, that in which he is superior to all other painters, is his sincerity.' This remark might be applied not only to Rubens, but also to other masters who shine by the richness and intensity of their colouring. Velazquez never had a very brilliant palette; he only used the colours necessary for those subdued tones in which all the grey tints are combined. He thus obtained, thanks to the skill with which the relative values of the different colours were determined, harmonies of the highest distinction.

It is to this accomplishment rather than to his much-talked-of fidelity to nature, that Velazquez owes the fact of his being considered to-day as the most original of painters: it is this to which he owes the great influence which he exercises on contemporary art.

I will not attempt to define here this influence, or to repeat what has been said about it. The book by Mr. Stevenson, which has been already quoted, is very instructive on this point. Herr Muther, in his *History of Painting in the Nineteenth Century*,[2] points out the influence of Velazquez on a considerable number of modern artists, and declares that the problem whose solution has been specially sought for in this century, that of the representation of objects in their proper envelopment of light and air, and not simply in their lines and

[1] Don Ceferino Araujo Sanches, in his work on *Goya*, Madrid: Printing Office of *La España Moderna*.

[2] *Geschichte der Malerei im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. By Richard Muther. Munich, 1893. 3 vols. The author (vol. ii. p. 508) observes that Sir John Everett Millais, after the Manchester Exhibition in 1857, where pictures by Velazquez from private collections were for the first time shown, abandoned the naturalism of the Italian quattrocentisti to follow that of Velazquez. Elsewhere (vol. iii. p. 526) with regard to Whistler's paintings, he says, that 'Diego Velazquez gave him his broad lines, his grey and black backgrounds and the values of his stuffs of silvery grey or refined black.' Further on, describing the 'Portrait of Miss Alexander,' by Whistler, he



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form, as had hitherto been the case, is a new problem in the history of art, the work of Velazquez alone excepted.

Another of the most noticeable of the characteristics of Velazquez, as of all great artists, is his independence. He was altogether a development from within, for we are unable to attribute any great influence on his artistic development to his first masters, Herrera and Pacheco. He only frequented Herrera's studio during a few months of his boyhood, and, besides, nothing is more opposed to the cold and ill-digested classicism with which the writings of Pacheco are impregnated than the style of Velazquez. From his travels and study he only assimilated what suited his temperament. He did not yield to any outside influence; that of 'El Greco,' to which I have already alluded, was limited to the addition of some of the qualities of this extraordinary artist to those which Velazquez already possessed.

This independence, this knowledge of his powers, was the reason which led Velazquez never to attempt large decorative painting, for which he did not feel himself suited. Thus it is, that when he had to deal with the decoration of the great rooms of the Alcazar and Buen Retiro, he undertook himself to go to Italy to look for fresco painters. Velazquez knew himself perfectly; he knew that imagination and invention, two indispensable factors in allegorical and decorative compositions, were not his strong points; and so he never left the sphere in which he moved so freely. He was content with nature as he found her, and never attempted to regard her with those magnifying glasses, which, whilst enlarging the lines, enlarge also the horizon, and thus produce effects beyond what is natural. But this restriction of range in his genius is counterbalanced by his intensity; there is never any uncertainty in his works. He was never weak and very seldom careless. Lucien Solvay says most appropriately in his book on Spanish art: 'Only, these splendours of the painter and the physiognomist which were intermittent with other artists, never abandoned Velazquez for an instant; he did not know what fatigue, the parent of the commonplace, meant.' This constancy of perfection, the conscientiousness

remarks that the greys of the dress hold their own with the scale of greys of Velazquez, and that the interpretation of the hair, etc., is inspired by the work of the Spanish master. I agree entirely with Herr Muther, and might extend these observations to a number of canvases by the same artist, notwithstanding the negative assertion contained in the interesting study on Whistler, published recently by M. Théodore Duret, in which he nevertheless admits that the portraits of the mother of the artist and of Miss Alexander, painted at the age of thirty-eight, reveal the influence of Velazquez, and that it is also apparent in other distinguished painters, countrymen of Whistler, who have been wise enough to assimilate with their own not a few of the consummate qualities to be observed in the works of the last epoch of the great Spanish master.



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and care with which the accessories as well as the principal parts of his pictures are rendered, contributed also to limit his production.

Velazquez never worked without a model; the poverty of his imagination prevented him from giving full scope to fancy, and, far from suffering thereby, as is the case with many artists, he was thus saved from falling into the faults and bad habits of those who sacrifice too much to what is considered 'chic.' Never, even in the fulness of his accomplishment, did he fall into mannerism, that fatal result of the abuse of facility; nor were any traces of decadence to be seen at any epoch of his life. He exercised his art like a veritable ministry; never once during his whole artistic career did he trifle with his brushes, never did he take them up except for an important and definite work; he neither painted mere impressions nor daubs; not even sketches for his pictures. I do not know of a single instance of this kind from his brush. Those attributed to him of 'Las Lanzas' and 'Las Meninas' are not by his hand. In his time imitations were made of his style. In our days the clever *pasticheur* of the sketches and even of the paintings of Goya, Eugenio Lucas, whose works are attributed to Goya in many collections, and even Museums, tried also to imitate Velazquez, but these badly designed imitations, verging on caricature, have deceived nobody.

His progress was slow but continuous. This becomes evident on studying his three famous 'manners,' so sharply defined, which are evolutionary phases uniting the intermediary works which we have already pointed out. I have indicated the characteristic features of these different styles, and shown the successive links of the chain which extends from the 'Adoration of the Magi' to the 'Meninas.'

There is no more transparent or simple technique than that of Velazquez; it is all the more interesting to us as it teaches us that the least complicated methods may lead to the most surprising results. Each of the manners of Velazquez has its special corresponding technique. We have seen that these differences arise especially from the fact that the paint, which is very thick in the earlier pictures, gets more and more fluid as the skill of the artist increases. In his last works, some parts appear as if painted in water colour, only the head and hands being thickly painted. 'The Dwarf, Don Juan de Austria' and the 'Hermits' are painted in this style. This method doubtless enabled Velazquez to paint very rapidly; but, on the other hand, the master was never satisfied with his first idea; in order to be convinced of this it is only necessary to examine the greater part of



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his canvases, and, among others, the two compositions just referred to, which are reckoned among his masterpieces, when many corrections and retouches will be observed in them. His work is always expressive and faithful; he used round brushes and nothing indicates the use of flat brushes.[1]

He made use of glazes, especially in his draperies. This fact has been already noticed in his early works, and cannot therefore be attributed to Italian influence. Besides, the glazings of Velazquez were always applied on a ground prepared with oil; for, as we have already stated, in spite of his predilection for the Venetian Masters, and the copies he made of them, he never changed his method, and never attempted painting with the egg medium, which was peculiar to the painters of that school.

He generally employed fine-grained canvases, which seem the finer as the dimensions of his pictures are almost always considerable. As to his preparatory ground, which was so thin that it left bare the grain of the canvas, it was, as I have said, red in his early works and gradually became modified, the red having changed into a decided grey in some of his last pictures.

I do not know of any picture by him painted on wood.

The lack of mystery and technical tricks in the method of Velazquez, and as a consequence the clearness and simplicity of his art, the noble freedom of the whole of his procedure, cause the artist to be the one of the old masters who most attracts beginners. In the Prado Museum, so rich in masterpieces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there is no master who is copied with greater fervour either by Spaniards or foreigners. And, indeed, he would be the best of guides, if the majority of those who study him did not attempt to assimilate his apparent facility. Many young students, attracted by this facility and by the most striking effects of the master, acquire a false semblance of his manner which goes no further than the surface, and only simulates the appearance of the broad execution and free handling of the painter, and this way of studying our artist soon degenerates into a mannerism which is very difficult to correct. What a mistake it is to believe that one can begin where Velazquez left off after years of incessant and profound study! In order to learn anything from this great master it is necessary first of all to copy

[1] Several specimens of the brushes used by Velazquez may be seen in the picture of the 'Meninas.' The hair of these brushes is mounted in goose quills fixed to wooden handles. This kind of brush was used in Spain up to the latter half of last century.



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conscientiously, not hastily, the dry and hard works of his first manner, the 'Borrachos' for example, which is so wonderfully drawn, and after several exercises of this kind, pass to the less dry pictures of his second manner in order finally to attack the last productions of the master. In this way it is possible to follow the evolution of the genius of Velazquez; but, even while admitting that these means may enable the pupil to assimilate some of the qualities of this wonderful style, the essence of the art of the master will ever remain beyond the reach of the cleverest imitators.

What, then, constitutes the essence of this genius? It is first of all the constant perfection of drawing, it is the harmony and reasoned balance of the whole, and, finally, it is the exquisite refinement of his aesthetic taste, thanks to which the likenesses of monsters and repulsive beggars interest and charm us, the extravagant coiffures and shapeless crinolines of the Princesses enter into the domain of art; personages as odious as the favourite, the Count-Duke of Olivares, or as insignificant as Philip IV. become pleasing and even imposing, and, finally, a scene so commonplace as that which is represented in the 'Meninas' becomes an incomparable masterpiece.

Velazquez also possessed the gift of treating the most widely diverse subjects with equal skill. In the mystic style, the intensity of sentiment of the 'Christ on the Cross' and the 'Hermits' has never been surpassed. The 'Borrachos,' the 'Aesop,' and the 'Menippus' are perfect as specimens of the burlesque style. As examples of great compositions we have the 'Meninas,' the 'Spinners,' the 'Surrender of Breda,' and the equestrian portraits; and as for the rest of his work, nothing equals the variety and the interest of the series of Hunters, Courtiers, and Dwarfs, whether they be brilliant and richly bedizened, or simple and severe.

This essence of the master's work is, as I have already stated, beyond the grasp of the most skilful imitators. Velazquez, like all other men of genius, has carried the secret of his art to the grave. There is, nevertheless, in his work, for any one who can appreciate its inner meaning, besides the artistic enjoyment which is always felt in the contemplation of the beautiful, an inexhaustible source of instruction. This teaching is more salutary in an epoch in which many artists are turning with enthusiasm to Velazquez, though attracted by a different ideal from his, and follow the path traced by him more than two centuries ago, and since almost deserted, looking upon it as better calculated than any other to lead them to this cherished ideal.



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The present work is itself one of the numerous studies to which this movement has given rise. If, thanks to it, I succeed in quickening enthusiasm in favour of the idea which presided at its inception, I shall have obtained a success as complete as any that I could have imagined at the moment of setting to work.



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# LIST OF AUTHENTIC PAINTINGS BY VELAZQUEZ, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES AND GALLERIES

## AUSTRIA

VIENNA, IMPERIAL GALLERY.

### Half-length Portrait of Philip IV. (No. 612).

49½ × 33 inches. See Plate XXVI, p. 40.

Son of Philip III.; born 1605, succeeded to the throne 1621, died 1665.

### Half-length Portrait of Isabella of Bourbon (No. 622).

51 × 39½ inches. See Plate XXVII, p. 40.

Daughter of Henry IV. and Marie de Médicis, two years older than Philip IV., to whom she was betrothed in 1615, and whose first wife she was. She died in 1644.

### Full-length Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos (No. 616).

50½ × 39½ inches. See Plate XL, p. 53.

Eldest son of Philip IV. and Isabella of Bourbon; born 1629, betrothed to his cousin, Mariana of Austria, in 1646. Died in 1646.

### Portrait (nearly full-length) of Mariana of Austria (No. 617).

50 × 38½ inches. See Plate LXXI, p. 102.

Daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III. and Mary, sister of Philip IV.; born 1635, betrothed to Don Baltasar Carlos in 1646; married to Philip IV., as his second wife, in 1649.

### Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita, at the age of three (No. 615).

50½ × 39½ inches. See Plate LXXV, p. 104.

Eldest child of Philip IV. and Mariana of Austria; born in 1651.

### Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita, at the age of about seven (No. 619).

41½ × 34½ inches. See Plate LXXVII, p. 104.

### Full-length Portrait of Prince Philip Prosper (No. 611).

50½ × 39 inches. See Plate LXXIX, p. 107.

Son of Philip IV. and Mariana of Austria; born 1657, died 1661.



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## FRANCE

PARIS, LOUVRE.

Bust Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria (No. 1735).
29½ × 24 inches. See Plate LXXII, p. 102.

Bust Portrait of the Infanta Margarita (No. 1731).
27½ × 23¼ inches. See Plate LXXVI, p 104.

—— COLLECTION OF M. ÉDOUARD KANN, Paris.

Bust Portrait of a Girl.
About 21½ × 17½ inches. See Plate LI, p. 72.

ROUEN, MUSEUM.

'The Geographer.'
39 × 32¼ inches. See Plate XIV, p. 21.

## GERMANY

BERLIN, KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM.

The Musicians.
34¼ × 43¼ inches. See Plate III, p. 8.

DRESDEN, ROYAL GALLERY.

Portrait of Juan Mateos (No. 697).
42½ × 35¼ inches. See Plate XXX, p. 42.
Philip IV.'s Master of the Hunt.

Bust Portrait of an Unknown Man (No. 698).
25¾ × 22 inches. See Plate LIII, p. 74.

FRANKFORT, STAEDEL INSTITUTE.

Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita at the age of about seven. Replica of the Portrait in Vienna.
53¾ × 41¼ inches.

MUNICH, PINAKOTHEK.

Portrait of a Young Man (No. 1293).
35 × 26¾ inches. See Plate XVI, p. 25.

## GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY.

Christ in the House of Martha (No. 1375).
23 × 40 inches. See Plate VII, p. 12.



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Full-length Portrait of Philip IV. (No. 1129).
78 × 44 inches. See Plate XXV, p. 39.

Christ at the Column (No. 1148).
63½ × 80 inches. See Plate XXXI, p. 43.

The Boar Hunt (No. 197).
74 × 123 inches. See Plate XLV, p. 58.

Venus with the Mirror (No. 2055).
48½ × 69½ inches. See Plate LXXXIV, p. 109.

Bust Portrait of Philip IV. (No. 745).
25 × 20½ inches. See Plate LXXXI, p. 108.

LONDON, WALLACE COLLECTION, HERTFORD HOUSE.

Portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos in childhood (No. 12).
46 × 37½ inches. See Plate XXXIX, p. 53.

Half-length Portrait of a Spanish Lady. 'The Woman with the Fan' (No. 88).
36½ × 27 inches. See Plate L, p. 71.

—— CAPTAIN HOLFORD, DORCHESTER HOUSE.

Full-length Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares.
87½ × 54½ inches. See Plate XLVII, p. 69.
Don Gaspar Guzman; born in 1587, favourite adviser of Philip IV., who made him Duke of San Lucar. Haughty and overbearing, he was universally disliked. Fell from power, 1643. Died in 1645.

—— MESSRS. M. KNOEDLER AND CO., 15 OLD BOND STREET.

The Vintager.
41½ × 28 inches. See Plate II, p. 7.

—— THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, APSLEY HOUSE.

Two Young Men at a Meal.
25½ × 41 inches. See Plate I, p. 7.

The Water-Carrier of Seville.
38½ × 32 inches. See Plate VI, p. 10.

Bust Portrait of a Man Unknown.
30 × 25½ inches. See Plate XXXV, p. 48.

RICHMOND, SIR F. COOK, BART.

Old Woman Frying Eggs.
39 × 46 inches. See Plate V, p. 9.



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SALISBURY, EARL OF RADNOR, LONGFORD CASTLE.

Bust Portrait of the Painter Juan de Pareja.
30 × 25 inches. See Plate LIX, p. 85.

## ITALY

MODENA, GALLERY.

Portrait of the Duke of Modena.
About 29½ × 23½ inches. See Plate XXXIV, p. 48.
Francis d'Este; born 1610, died 1658.

ROME, CAPITOLINE MUSEUM.

Bust Portrait of Velazquez.
24¾ × 18½ inches. See Plate XXIII, p. 37.

—— DORIA PALACE.

Portrait of Pope Innocent X.
55 × 47¼ inches. See Plate LXI, p. 86.
Painted in the seventy-fifth year of the Pope's life.

## RUSSIA

ST. PETERSBURG, HERMITAGE MUSEUM.

Breakfast (No. 1849).
72 × 41½ inches. See Plate IV, p. 9.

Bust Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares (No. 422).
26½ × 21½ inches. See Plate XLVIII, p. 69.

Bust Portrait of Pope Innocent X. (No. 418).
19 × 16 inches. See Plate LX, p. 86.

## SPAIN

MADRID, PRADO MUSEUM.

The Adoration of the Magi (No. 1054).
79½ × 49 inches. See Plate VIII, p. 13.

Bust Portrait of an Unknown Man (No. 1103).
15¾ × 14 inches. See Plate XI, p. 18.

Bust Portrait of Philip IV. (No. 1071).
22½ × 17¼ inches. See Plate XIII, p. 20.

Full-length Portrait of Philip IV. (No. 1070).
79 × 40 inches. See Plate XII, p. 20.



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Portrait of the Infante Don Carlos (No. 1073).

82¼ × 41 inches. See Plate xv, p. 23.

Younger brother of Philip IV.; born 1607, died 1632.

The Drinkers. 'Los Borrachos' (No. 1058).

65 × 88½ inches. See Plate xvii, p. 28.

View in the Gardens of the Villa Medici, Rome (No. 1106).

17½ × 15¾ inches. See Plate xviii, p. 33.

Another View at the Villa Medici, Rome (No. 1107).

17½ × 19 inches. See Plate xix, p. 33.

The Forge of Vulcan (No. 1059).

87¾ × 114½ inches. See Plates xx and xxi, p. 34.

Bust Portrait of the Infanta Maria, Queen of Hungary (No. 1072).

22¾ × 17½ inches. See Plate xxiv, p. 38.

Maria Anna, sister of Philip IV.; born 1606, sought in marriage for Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, married Ferdinand, King of Hungary, in 1631. Died in 1646.

Reputed Portrait of Doña Juana Pacheco. 'The Sibyl.' (No. 1086).

24½ × 19¾ inches. See Plate xxviii, p. 40.

Daughter of Francisco Pacheco, painter and man of letters, and master of Velazquez; married Velazquez in 1618, and died in 1660, a few days after himself.

Portrait of Don Diego del Corral y Arellano.

81 × 45 inches. See Plate xxix, p. 42.

Jurist. High official under Philip III. and Philip IV. Died in 1632.

Portrait of the Dwarf Pablillos de Valladolid (No. 1092).

82½ × 48½ inches. See Plate lxii, p. 91.

Equestrian Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos (No. 1068).

82½ × 68 inches. See Frontispiece.

Equestrian Portrait of King Philip IV. (No. 1066).

118 × 123¾ inches. See Plates lvii and lviii, p. 79.

Equestrian Portrait of Queen Isabella of Bourbon (No. 1067).

118 × 123¾ inches. See Plate lv, p. 77.

Equestrian Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares (No. 1069).

123 × 94 inches. See Plate lvi, p. 78.

Equestrian Portrait of King Philip III. (No. 1064).

118 × 123½ inches. See p. 76.

Father of King Philip IV. Died in 1621.



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Equestrian Portrait of Queen Margarita of Austria (No. 1065).

117 × 118 inches. See p. 76.

Margaret of Austria, wife of Philip III. Born in 1584, married in 1599, died in 1611.

Portrait of King Philip IV. in Hunting Dress (No. 1074).

75¼ × 49½ inches. See Plate XLIV, p. 56.

Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos in Hunting Dress (No. 1076).

75¼ × 40½ inches. See Plate XLI, p. 55.

Portrait of the Count of Benavente (No. 1090).

42¾ × 34½ inches. See Plate XXXIII, p. 47.

Christ on the Cross (No. 1055).

97¾ × 66½ inches. See Plate XXXII, p. 44.

Portrait of the Infante Don Ferdinand of Austria in Hunting Dress (No. 1075).

75¼ × 49½ inches. See Plates XLII and XLIII, p. 55.

Third son of Philip III., and brother of Philip IV.; born in 1609. Created Archbishop of Toledo in his ninth year, and Cardinal in 1620. Left Spain in 1632, and died in 1641.

The Surrender of Breda. 'Las Lanzas' (No. 1060).

120¾ × 144½ inches. See Plates XXXVI and XXXVII, p. 49.

Portrait of the Dwarf El Primo (No. 1095).

42 × 32¼ inches. See Plate LXIII, p. 92.

View of the Town of Saragossa (No. 788).

71 × 130½ inches. See Plate XLVI, p. 60.

Portrait of the Sculptor Martinez Montañes (No. 1091).

43 × 34¼ inches. See Plate LII, p. 73.

Bust Portrait of King Philip IV. (No. 1080).

27¼ × 22 inches. See Plate LXXX, p. 107.

The Coronation of the Virgin (No. 1056).

69¼ × 52¾ inches. See Plates LXXXIX and XC, p. 121.

Mars (No. 1102).

70½ × 37½ inches. See Plate LXXXIII, p. 109.

Mercury and Argus (No. 1063).

50 × 97½ inches. See Plate LXXXII, p. 108.

Portrait of the Dwarf Don Sebastian de Morra (No. 1096).

41¾ × 32 inches. See Plate LXIV, p. 93.

Portrait of the Dwarf El Nino de Vallecas (No. 1098).

41¾ × 32¾ inches. See Plate LXVI, p. 93.



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Portrait of the Dwarf El Bobo de Coria (No. 1099).
40½ × 32½ inches. See Plate LXVII, p. 93.

Portrait of the Buffoon Don Juan de Austria (No. 1094).
82¾ × 48¼ inches. See Plate LXVIII, p. 95.

The Maids of Honour. 'Las Meninas' (No. 1062).
125 × 108¾ inches. See Plates LXXXVI and LXXXVII, p. 115.

The Spinners. 'Las Hilanderas' (No. 1061).
86½ × 113½ inches. See Plate LXXXV, p. 118.

Full-length Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria (No. 1079).
82¼ × 49 inches. See Plate LXXIV, p. 103.

Replica of Same Portrait (No. 1078). See p. 103.

Aesop (No. 1100).
77½ × 37 inches. See Plate LXIX, p. 96.

Menippus (No. 1101).
70½ × 37 inches. See Plate LXX, p. 96.

Portrait of the Dwarf Don Antonio el Ingles (No. 1097).
56 × 42¼ inches. See Plate LXV, p. 93.

Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita (No. 1084).
83½ × 58 inches. See Plate LXXVIII, p. 105.

St. Antony the Abbot visiting St. Paul the Hermit. 'The Holy Hermits' (No. 1057).
101 × 74 inches. See Plate XCI, p. 122.

MADRID, MONASTERY OF THE ESCURIAL.

Joseph's Coat.
87¾ × 98¼ inches. See Plate XXII, p. 35.

—— DON AURELIANO DE BERUETE.

St. Peter.
51½ × 41½ inches. See Plate X, p. 14.

SEVILLE, ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE.

The Virgin delivering the Chasuble to St. Ildefonso. See p. 14.

VALENCIA, MUSEUM.

Bust Portrait of Velazquez.
18 × 15 inches. See Plate LIV, p. 75.



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## SWITZERLAND

ZÜRICH, DON MANUEL DE SOTO.

Christ and the Pilgrims of Emmaus.
54½ × 49 inches. See Plate IX, p. 13.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOSTON, MUSEUM.

Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos attended by a Dwarf.
55 × 32 inches. See Plate XXXVIII, p. 52.

NEW YORK, SPANISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

Supposed Portrait of Cardinal Pamphili.
About 27½ × 23½ inches. See Plate XLIX, p. 70.

EX-LEDIEN COLLECTION, PARIS.

Bust Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria.
About 21½ × 25½ inches. See Plate LXXIII, p. 103.



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# A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE OF THE AUTHENTIC WORKS OF VELAZQUEZ

Velazquez born in 1599. From 1615, or 1617, to 1623, the date of his second visit to Madrid, he painted at Seville the following works:—

Christ in the House of Martha (National Gallery, No. 1375).
The Vintager (Messrs. M. Knoedler & Co., London).
Adoration of the Magi (Prado Museum, No. 1054). This picture is dated 1619.
Two Young Men at a Meal (Duke of Wellington, Apsley House).
The Musicians (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin).
Breakfast (Hermitage Museum, No. 1849).
Old Woman Frying Eggs (Sir F. Cook's Collection, Richmond Hill, London).
The Water Carrier of Seville (Duke of Wellington, Apsley House).
Saint Peter (Don A. de Beruete, Madrid).
Christ and the Pilgrims of Emmaus (Don Manuel de Soto, Zurich).
The Virgin delivering the Chasuble to Saint Ildefonso (Archbishop's Palace, Seville).
Bust Portrait of an Unknown Personage (Prado Museum, No. 1103).

From 1623 to August of 1629, the date of his first visit to Italy, Velazquez painted at Madrid the following pictures:—

Bust Portrait of Philip IV. (Prado Museum, No. 1071). This picture was undoubtedly the study for the following portrait; the armour and sash were repainted later by Velazquez.
Full-length Portrait of Philip IV. (Prado Museum, No. 1070).
The Geographer (Rouen Museum).
Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares (Capt. Holford, Dorchester House, London).
Portrait of the Infante Don Carlos (Prado Museum, No. 1073).
Portrait of a Young Man (Munich Pinakothek, No. 1293).
Los Borrachos (Prado Museum, No. 1058). According to all the data this picture was finished in 1629.



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Work done in 1630 during the sojourn of Velazquez at Rome and Naples :—

View at the Villa Medici (Prado Museum, No. 1106).
Another View at the Villa Medici (Prado Museum, No. 1107).
The Forge of Vulcan (Prado Museum, No. 1059).
Joseph's Coat (Monastery of the Escurial, Madrid).
Bust Portrait of the Infanta Maria, Queen of Hungary (Prado Museum, No. 1072).

From the beginning of the year 1631 to 1649, the date of his second visit to Italy, Velazquez painted the following pictures at Madrid, with the exception of the portrait of the dwarf 'El Primo,' which was painted at Fraga.

From 1631 to 1635 :—

Full-length Portrait of Philip IV. (National Gallery, No. 1129).
Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos attended by a Dwarf (Boston Museum).
Portrait of Don Baltasar Carlos when Young (Wallace Collection, No. 12).
Portrait of Doña Juana Pacheco (Prado Museum, No. 1086).
Portrait of Don Diego del Corral y Arellano (Prado Museum).
Christ at the Column (National Gallery, No. 1148).
Half-length Portrait of Philip IV. (Vienna Museum, No. 612).
Half-length Portrait of Isabella of Bourbon, first wife of Philip IV. (Vienna Museum, No. 622).
The Dwarf Pablillos of Valladolid (Prado Museum, No. 1092).

From 1635 to 1638 :—

Bust Portrait of Velazquez (Capitoline Museum, Rome).
Equestrian Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos (Prado Museum, No. 1068).
Equestrian Portrait of King Philip IV. (Prado Museum, No. 1066).
Equestrian Portrait of Queen Isabella of Bourbon (Prado Museum, No. 1067).
Equestrian Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares (Prado Museum, No. 1069).
Equestrian Portrait of King Philip III. (Prado Museum, No. 1064).
Equestrian Portrait of Queen Margarita of Austria (Prado Museum, No. 1065).

In Chapter vi. I refer to the small amount of work done by Velazquez in this portrait.

Portrait of Philip IV. in Hunting Dress (Prado Museum, No. 1074).
Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos in Hunting Dress (Prado Museum, No. 1076).
Portrait of the Count of Benavente (Prado Museum, No. 1090).



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From 1638 to 1644:—

Portrait of Juan Mateos (Dresden, Royal Gallery, No. 697).

The Boar Hunt (Philip IV. of Spain Hunting Wild Boar) (National Gallery, No. 197).

Christ on the Cross (Prado Museum, No. 1055).

Portrait of the Duke of Modena (Modena Gallery).

Bust Portrait of an Unknown Personage (Duke of Wellington, Apsley House).

Full-length Portrait of Prince Don Baltasar Carlos (Vienna Museum, No. 616).

Portrait of the Infante Don Ferdinand of Austria in Hunting Dress (Prado Museum, No. 1075).

The Lances (The Surrender of Breda) (Prado Museum, No. 1060).

Bust Portrait of a Girl, probably a grand-daughter of Velazquez (Collection of M. Édouard Kann, Paris).

Bust Portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares (Hermitage Museum, No. 422).

From 1644 to 1649:—

Portrait of the Dwarf 'El Primo,' painted at Fraga (Prado Museum, No. 1095).

View of the Town of Saragossa (Prado Museum, No. 788).[1]

Bust Portrait supposed to be the Cardinal Pamphili (in the possession of the Spanish Society of America, New York).

Half-Length Portrait of a Spanish Lady (The Woman with the Fan). I believe this to be the portrait of Francisca Velazquez, the daughter of the master. (Wallace Collection, No. 88).

Bust Portrait of Velazquez by Himself (Valencia Museum).

Portrait of the Sculptor Martinez Montañes (Prado Museum, No. 1091).

Bust Portrait of an Unknown Personage (Dresden, Royal Gallery, No. 698).

1650 at Rome:—

Bust Portrait of the Painter Juan de Pareja (Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle, Salisbury).

Bust Portrait of Pope Innocent X. (Hermitage Museum, No. 418).

Portrait of Pope Innocent X. (Doria Palace, Rome).

From 1651 to 6th August 1660, the date of his death, Velazquez painted at Madrid the following works:—

Bust Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria (Louvre, No. 1735).

Half-length Portrait of the same Queen (Vienna Museum, No. 617).

[1] This picture is attributed in the catalogue to Mazo, but I include it amongst those of Velazquez, because almost all the figures are evidently painted by the master; there are also over the whole canvas unmistakable traces of his hand, as I have already said in Chapter V.



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Bust Portrait of Philip IV. (Prado Museum, No. 1080).
The Coronation of the Virgin (Prado Museum, No. 1056).
Mars (Prado Museum, No. 1102).
Mercury and Argus (Prado Museum, No. 1063).
Venus and Cupid (National Gallery, London, No. 2055).
Bust Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria (property of M. Ledien, Paris, until 1899, now in the United States of America).
Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita three years old (Vienna Museum, No. 615).
The Dwarf Don Sebastian de Morra (Prado Museum, No. 1096).
The Dwarf El Nino de Vallecas (Prado Museum, No. 1098).
The Dwarf El Bobo de Coria (Prado Museum, No. 1099).
Bust Portrait of the Infanta Margarita (Louvre, No. 1731).
The Buffoon Don Juan de Austria (Prado Museum, No. 1094).
Las Meninas (Prado Museum, No. 1062).
The Spinners (Prado Museum, No. 1061).
Full-length Portrait of Queen Mariana of Austria (Prado Museum, No. 1079).
Replica of the same Portrait (Prado Museum, No. 1078).
Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita, about seven years old (Vienna Museum. No. 619).
Replica of the same Portrait (Staedel Institute, Frankfort).
Aesop (Prado Museum, No. 1100).
Menippus (Prado Museum, No. 1101).
The Dwarf Don Antonio el Ingles (Prado Museum, 1097).
Full-length Portrait of the Infanta Margarita (Prado Museum, No. 1084).[1]
Portrait of Prince Philip Prosper (Vienna Museum, No. 611).
Bust Portrait of Philip IV. (National Gallery, No. 745).
Saint Antony the Abbot visiting Saint Paul the Hermit, or The Holy Hermits (Prado Museum, No. 1057).

There are also in the Royal Palace at Madrid two pictures which should be attributed to Velazquez. The first of them, the head of a lady, is practically ruined by restoration; the second is a hand, probably a fragment of a lost portrait of a prelate. The hand holds a paper, on which is written the name of Velazquez. This painting was exhibited in London at the Guildhall in 1901.

This catalogue contains ninety paintings in all, and after researches I believe that this figure cannot be exceeded. Of the numerous so-called authentic paintings of Velazquez which I consider apocryphal, I only mention some of those which figure in public and private collections.

[1] The Prado Catalogue states that this portrait is of Maria Theresa, Queen of France. (See Chapter ix.)



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The old inventories of the royal palaces of Spain comprise several originals of Velazquez, the greater part of which disappeared in the burning of the Alcazar in 1734; I give a list of these works[1] which may be of interest:—

The Last Supper (a copy after Tintoretto) (see Chapter iii.).
The Expulsion of the Moriscos (see Chapter ii.).
Apollo flaying a satyr.
Venus and Adonis.
Psyche and Cupid.
} see Chapter ix.
Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV. (see Chapter ii.).
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A horseman, sketch.
} inventoried in 1686.
Portrait of an Infant Prince (inventoried after 1734).
Portrait of Ochoa, porter of the Palace (inventory of 1701).[2]
Portrait of Cardenas, the buffoon bull-fighter (inventory of 1701).
Portrait of the Dwarf Calabacillas.
Portrait of the Dwarf Velasquillo.
} see Chapter viii.
Two Portraits (inventory of 1666).
Fourteen Heads on Eight Canvases (inventory of 1666).
The Wolf Hunt (inventory of 1686).
Philip IV. Hunting a Wild Boar with Two Hounds (inventory of 1666).
A Stag's Antler (inventory of 1636).
A Pelican and other Birds (inventory of 1701).
Interior of the Church of Saint Hieronymus (see Chapter vi.).
The Golden Hall, sketch (inventory of 1686).
Head of an English Woman (inventory of the studio of Velazquez after the death of the artist in 1660).

Palomino, Ponz, and Ceán Bermudez mention several other paintings of Velazquez; but as the description given by these authors cannot be applied either to canvases that we know, or those which are quoted in the royal inventories, we must consider these works as lost.

[1] I take almost all these details from the catalogue attached to the 'Anales' of Cruzada Villaamil.

[2] It is probable that it was from this portrait that the etching by Goya was done: a copy is in the National Library of Madrid.



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